

THE STORY OF QUAKERISM

ELIZABETH B. EMMOTT

Walker

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Marion M. Dunn

PRESENTED
BY
HENRY H. MOSHER FUND
NEW YORK YEARLY MEETING
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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THE STORY OF QUAKERISM.

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GEORGE FOX.

From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely, in the possession of the Trustees
of Swarthmore College.

THE STORY OF QUAKERISM

BY
ELIZABETH BRAITHWAITE EMMOTT

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE publication of this book has been undertaken by the Central Education Committee of the Society of Friends, in response to a suggestion from Lancashire and Cheshire Quarterly Meeting that a short and continuous history of our Society was a pressing need at the present time.

At the request of the Committee the narrative has been written by Elizabeth B. Emmott, who is responsible for the expressions of opinion contained in the book.

The Index has been prepared by Norman Penney, and the Chronological Outline by Susanna E. Wells.

William C. Braithwaite and several other Friends have given valuable advice and suggestions.

The Secretary of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association has furnished much interesting information for Chapter XIX, including statistics and map.

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THE STORY OF QUAKERISM.

CHAPTER I.

THE ENGLAND IN WHICH GEORGE FOX WAS BORN.

IT is difficult for us to realise what England was like so long ago as 1624, the year in which George Fox was born. There were not nearly so many people living in it then as there are now, and there were very few large towns. London, which was by far the most important city, was comparatively a small place, and, instead of containing six million people, its population, though rapidly increasing, did not number half a million. An old map of the year 1610 shows us that London and Westminster were then two neighbouring cities surrounded by meadows. "Totten Court" was an outlying country village. Oxford Street is marked on this map as "The Waye to Uxbridge," and runs between meadows and pastures. The Tower, Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's Church, with the old spire, and some other landmarks are indeed there, but it is curious to read the accounts given by the chronicles of the day of its narrow and dirty streets, in which carts and coaches jostled one another, and foot passengers found it difficult to get along at all.

A few years later (1633) John Stow in his "Survey" thus describes the city of London:—

"It is placed by nature on a little Hill, having an easy ascent all along from the South, and stands no less

pleasant than commodious by the River Thames, which washeth its South Parts, forming an half-moon, or bow-bent. And in its hasty Course toward the sea payeth its duty to the City; dividing it into two (but unequal) parts; the one (and which is the greater) taking the name of London and Westminster, and the other, the name of Southwark. Which parts are joined together by a stately Stone Bridge, Bearing the name of London Bridge; which is supported by Nineteen great arches; and so furnished above with houses and shops of able tradesmen, that passengers might rather take it for a fair street than a bridge.

"The other out-parts and suburbs are encompassed with rich and pleasant fields, fertile for feeding horses and cows, as well as for hay, tillage and gardening."

The river was its great glory and its greatest thoroughfare. As there was only one bridge across it, and carriages were very expensive, and not much used except by the nobles, the easiest and pleasantest way of getting from one part of London to another was by a boat on the Thames. In the beginning of the seventeenth century we are told that "the river Thames hath not her fellow, if regard be had to those forests of masts which are perpetually upon her, the variety of smaller wooden bottoms playing up and down, the stately palaces that are built upon both sides of her banks so thick; which made divers foreign ambassadors affirm that the most glorious sight in the world, take water and land together, was to come upon a high tide from Gravesend and shoot the bridge to Westminster." Each palace had its landing place and its private retinue of barges and wherries, and yet, busy though it was, the river abounded in "fleets of swans swimming in flocks," and we read of fishermen on its banks and waters, and "fat and sweet salmon daily taken in this stream, and that in such plenty as no river in Europe is able to exceed it,"

Stow speaks of "two thousand wherries and small boats," whereby three thousand poor watermen are maintained, plying a busy trade in conveying passengers up and down the river, but as coaches came more into use their trade gradually left them, and even in 1622, John Taylor, waterman and poet, complains "this swarm of trade-spillers [coaches] have so overrun the land that we can get no living upon the water, for every day in any term, especially if the Court be held at Whitehall, they do rob us of our livings and carry five hundred and sixty fares daily from us." Five hundred and sixty fares seemed a large number then, but sounds very few in comparison with the hundreds of thousands carried every day by train and 'bus in the London of to-day! Besides the coaches, sedan chairs with poles carried by men were much used, especially by ladies; and, as there was no electric light or gas, travellers passing along the streets were lighted by torches or wax tapers. These were, however, often blown out by the wind, and at best gave a very uncertain light, and, with the rough and uneven roads and the many holes in the paving, made travelling so dangerous that the experience described by the poet Gay was by no means uncommon:

"In the wide gulf the shattered coach o'er thrown
Sinks with the snorting steeds; the reins are broke,
And from the crackling axle flies the spoke."

When the King went to Parliament, faggots were thrown into the ruts in the streets through which he passed, to make it easier for his state coach to drive over the uneven roads!

Hogarth tells us of a "flying coach" that went five miles an hour! And he also describes the dustman's bell, the little boys' drums, and the knife-grinder's wheel all in the middle of the street, to the terror of the horses. What should we think now of a game of football in the Strand! Yet one writer tells us that, rushing

along Cheapside or Covent Garden or the Strand, came the football players, and that pedestrians were liable to be stopped by this "heroic game," which, he says, "I conceive (under your favour) not very conveniently civil in the streets."

There were no numbers to the houses or places of business, but they were known by signs, or by their nearness to some place with a sign. These signs were usually very large, and were carefully painted or carved, and they stuck out so far that they often touched one another across the narrow streets. "Red Lions," "Black Swans" and "Blue Boars" were very common, and we read of many mistakes being made, as when a young man tried to get into a house in the Stock Markets, thinking he was at his own lodgings, because both places had a statue of the King on horseback over the door.

The insides of the houses were very dark, and we should have thought them inconvenient, but they were solidly built, and, although there was not much furniture in them, some of it was very beautiful and expensive. In the with-drawing room (as it was then called) there would be a centre table, some chairs, a settee, a few pictures, perhaps a spinet or some kind of musical instrument, some shelves for the beautiful china which everyone loved, and heavy window curtains.

In the better houses the walls were wainscotted and carved, and the ceilings painted. There were wide fire-places, and large screens to keep out the draughts. The dresses of the richer people were made of lovely brocaded silks and other costly materials, the men as well as the women wearing bright colours and lace and feathers in a way which would look very strange to us now.

There were very few newspapers in 1624, but, instead of reading the papers, men met in the clubs to talk over and pass on to one another the items of news

which they had heard, as they went about their business or their pleasure.

If this was the state of things in the capital, we must expect to find the country places even less advanced. The people generally were very simple and uneducated, and were mostly farmers or shepherds. Large parts of England, as for instance the fen country (soon to be drained), were in their original state of natural wildness. Even the cultivated lands were so badly tilled that they produced very poor crops.

Next to London in size and importance was the town of Bristol, which was then the greatest English seaport. Other important places were Norwich, York, Leeds, Exeter, Shrewsbury, Chester, Worcester, Derby and Canterbury. Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham, which are such great cities now, were quite small towns. The great cotton and woollen manufactures, which have made the large towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire such busy centres of trade, were then only carried on by hand-loom, mostly in the people's own homes, where through the long winter evenings the ancient one-thread wheel made music as the family gathered round the hearth. The serges, russets and calicoes thus produced were carried on pack horses from the scattered villages to the market towns. At Leeds, which was famous for its cloth market held twice a week, the sellers hung their pieces of cloth over the parapets of the bridge to display them to those who wished to buy. A writer of the time says, "This is esteemed the wealthiest town of its bigness in the country," and the inhabitants "are esteemed very rich and very proud."

It was not until machinery came to be used for weaving and other purposes, that the iron trade developed and made Birmingham the busy place which it is to-day. There were, of course, no railroads, and at this time even very few coaches, and travelling was so difficult and expensive that a great many people

lived all their lives in the town or village where they had been born, without ever visiting any other place. A man who had been to Cornwall, or to Westmorland, was looked upon as a great traveller, when he got back to London; and for country people a journey to London was the event of a lifetime.

In order to understand George Fox's life and work, we must also know something of the history of the times in which he lived, and especially of the religious ideas of the people. To do this we must remember what had been happening in England during the last sixty or seventy years.

The short reign of Mary, with its cruel persecutions of the Protestants, had been followed by Elizabeth's long rule of forty-five years, during which England enjoyed great prosperity. In her reign the defeat of the great Spanish Armada saved England from the fear of invasion or of Catholic interference, and made her a great naval power. Her great admirals, Drake, Frobisher and Hawkins, sailed the seas and brought back stories of new and wonderful countries which they had visited; and in America, Virginia was discovered and named in honour of the Queen by Sir Walter Raleigh. Shakespeare wrote his plays, and Spenser his "Færie Queene," and literature and art flourished.

The fact that Elizabeth was a Protestant did not, however, mean that persecution for conscience' sake had ceased.

We take our liberty to-day so much as a matter of course, that we do not realise through what sufferings it has been obtained for us, nor how slowly the world has come to see that it is impossible to make a man alter his belief by whipping or imprisonment, or by terrifying him with threats of the rack or the stake. You may make people say they believe what you wish by such means, but it only encourages them to be cowards and hypocrites. The really brave and honest men will be

true to their conscience through it all. Elizabeth thought, as most people did then, that there could only be one right kind of religious belief, and that all others must be dangerous heresies. She considered herself the head of the English Church, and, as such, felt it her duty to try and make everyone believe in the teaching of the Church, and those who refused were persecuted, very much as they had been in Queen Mary's days.

There were already a great many Puritans in England, who wanted a simpler form of religion, and one more free from ceremonial and from State interference, than the English Church was at this time. Some of these suffered a great deal ; but the very fact of their sufferings made religious questions of great interest, and kept them before people's minds.

James I. succeeded Elizabeth in 1603. His reign was famous for the printing of our authorised version of the Bible, and was a time when men's minds were much interested in religious things. The Puritans had hoped for more liberty of conscience from him, because he had been brought up among the Presbyterians, but they were sadly disappointed. James's wife was a Catholic, and he was anxious to be at peace with the Church of Rome. He was just as determined as the Tudor sovereigns had been to uphold his own authority over the Church, through the Bishops, and those who would not conform were no better off than they were under Elizabeth.

It was during this reign that the first of the New England settlements in North America was made at Plymouth, by the little company who went in the *Mayflower*, that they might serve God according to their conscience. The story of the sufferings and loyalty to conscience of these "Pilgrim Fathers" is well known to us, and has been well told by Longfellow in his poem, "Miles Standish." Later on, other Puritans settled for the same reasons on the New England shores, but it

is curious and sad to find, as we shall do further on in this story, that some of these people and their descendants were among the bitterest persecutors of Friends in New England during the following hundred years.

There were now in England three principal parties of Puritans: the Presbyterians, the Independents and the Baptists, and these continued to increase in numbers; and, although many of them seem to have thought that religion consisted only in *saying* that they believed certain doctrines, without any change of life, still many others were very much in earnest; and amongst the "Baptists," "Seekers" and others, there were little companies of Christians up and down the country, who held views like some of those which George Fox and the early Friends taught, as for instance, that not only the pastors, but any who felt called to do so, women as well as men, should be allowed to preach or take part in their services, and that no person is fitted to preach or prophesy unless the Spirit moves him.

The earnestness of some of these good people is shown by the accounts we have of their meetings, which sometimes lasted four hours on Sunday morning, and another four hours in the afternoon! Robert Barclay (a descendant of Robert Barclay, the author of the "Apology") has written a book called "The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth," in which he gives some very interesting particulars of these people and their way of worship. He gives one account, which says: "We begin by a prayer, after read one or two chapters of the Bible, give the sense thereof and confer on the same. That done, we lay aside our books, and, after a solemn prayer made by the first speaker, he propoundeth some text out of the Scripture, and prophesieth out of the same by the space of one hour, or three-quarters of an hour. After him standeth up a *second* speaker, and prophesieth out of the same text. After him the *third*, the *fourth*, the *fifth*, or as many as

the time will give leave. Then the first speaker concludeth with prayer, with an exhortation to contribution to the poor. This morning exercise begins at eight of the clock, and continueth till twelve of the clock. The like courses and exercises are observed in the afternoon, from two of the clock unto five or six of the clock. Last of all the execution of the government of the Church is handled."

In another place we hear of a company of Christians, who included amongst their Church officers "one ancient widow for a deaconness," who was above sixty years old, and who visited "the sick and weak, especially women, and, as there was need, called out maids and young women to watch and do them other helps, as their necessity did require," and "she was obeyed as a mother in Israel and an officer of Christ. She honoured her place, and was an ornament to the congregation; she usually sat in a convenient place in the congregation with a *little birchen rod* in her hand, and *kept little children in great awe* from disturbing the congregation." If these "little children" had to sit through eight hours of Meeting on Sunday, one feels that there was some excuse for restlessness, but we must hope that the discipline was good for them, and the "ancient widow" seems to have had a kindly spirit.

We must, therefore, not think of George Fox and the early Friends as living in an age when religion was neglected, but rather when it was the subject uppermost in men's minds. It was discussed at the clubs and wherever men met together, poor women in the street talked about it, and even the children grew sober over their play from a fear that it might be displeasing to God. Still, most of the religion was very much on the surface, and did not seem to change people's lives, and there were very many all over England who had grown weary of the endless discussions about Bishops and Elders, how the psalms should be sung in church, whether

mince pies might be eaten at Christmas, or May Day sports celebrated, and other questions about the *outward forms* of religion. What they were longing for was to feel Christ closer to their spirits, and to know His Gospel as a message of glad tidings to all, the poor and ignorant as well as the rich and learned. Some of these left off attending any form of public worship, and held little meetings of their own, often in silence, calling themselves "Seekers," and we find that in many places they were amongst the first to receive and welcome the message of the early Friends, and in several cases whole congregations joined the Society.

When Charles I. came to the throne in 1625, although he was himself a religious man, he had no sympathy with the Puritan party, and could not understand how their feelings were shocked by the plays which were acted before the Court, as well as by the favour shown to the Roman Catholics, under the influence of his French Queen. He offended them also because, like his father and the Tudor sovereigns who had preceded him, he held that a King was responsible to God only, and that his subjects must submit to his ruling, both in the government of the country and in religious matters. The King, he said, was the head both of the Church and the State, and everyone must obey him. The result of this was a continual quarrel between the King and the Parliament, each trying to get the power into their own hands, until at last the discontent became so great that the Parliament summoned the country to fight for its liberty, and for nine years England was plunged into all the misery and turmoil of a Civil War, made all the more terrible, because it was a war not only between those who sided with the King and those who supported the Parliament, but also a war between the Church party and the Puritans.

When at last the Parliament triumphed, and the country once more enjoyed peace under the rule of

Oliver Cromwell, England was outwardly a very sober and God-fearing nation. The Puritans (that is the Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists) were now in power, and no one was allowed to break the Sabbath or to stay away from Church. The theatres were closed and sports of all kinds forbidden by law. This earnest spirit in the nation gave the Quaker message its opportunity. In a Proclamation issued in February, 1655, the Protector promised the continuance of "the free and uninterrupted passage of the Gospel running through the midst of" the English People. . . . "without any interruption from the powers God hath set over this Commonwealth;" but as he also promised (very properly) to take care that none should disturb their brethren in the free exercise of their faith and worship, any magistrates who were of a persecuting spirit found it easy to bring accusations against the Quakers for their plain speaking against what they called "a hireling ministry," and there was a great deal of persecution for this and other causes.

The Presbyterian and Independent ministers were supported by tithes, just as the ministers of the Church of England had been before. The strictness of the Puritan rule caused great discontent, and when the Restoration came in 1660, there was at once a great reaction. Godliness became a by-word of scorn, and any simplicity in dress or serious thought or behaviour was laughed at, and treated with derision as belonging to the hated Puritans. Drinking and gambling and duelling were looked upon as marks of a fine gentleman, and the King himself led an indolent and dissolute life, and encouraged his courtiers and nobles to do the same. Before returning to England, Charles II. had issued a proclamation from Breda, promising liberty of conscience, but, although he himself had no wish to persecute, he was too indolent to care very much about it, and when opposed by Parliament, easily gave way and sanc-

tioned the passing of the Act of Uniformity and other measures.

So persecution began again, hotter than ever, and continued, almost without interruption, until 1687, when James II. issued the Declaration of Indulgence, which gave liberty of public worship to all Non-conformists, including Roman Catholics. Many now returned to their homes after years of banishment, and thousands of Quakers were let out of prison.

It was during these years of rapid change that the Society of Friends arose. Its great message was that religion was a *real* thing and meant *real* communion with God, and resulting from that a *real* change of life. In reading the lives of the early Friends we hear very little about the history of the times in which they lived. Whether under Protector or King, their place was that of peaceable, law-abiding citizens, but also of men who before all earthly homage owned allegiance to Christ and to the laws of His Kingdom, and who were always ready to suffer rather than to obey the earthly ruler, if he commanded them to do anything, which seemed to them an act of disobedience to their Heavenly King. Men, too, who were fearless to rebuke wrong wherever they saw it, in the palace, the pulpit, or amongst the common people, and who therefore became a power for good in the midst of the confusion and hypocrisy of the times.

Having thus tried to understand a little the state of things in England when the Society of Friends arose, we will turn to the story of the life of its founder—George Fox.

CHAPTER II.

GEORGE FOX FINDS HIS LIFE WORK.

IN such an England as has been described, in the quiet little village of Fenny Drayton, in Leicestershire, lived Christopher and Mary Fox. They were simple, homely people of the middle class, who, amidst the religious upheavals, the persecutions and immorality of the times, led a humble and Christlike life, and tried to train their children in truth and purity.

Christopher Fox was a weaver by trade, and so well known for his upright life that the neighbours called him "Righteous Christer." Mary Fox, whose maiden name was Lago, was of the stock of the martyrs,* and, as William Penn tells us, "A woman accomplished above most of her degree in the place where she lived."

They had at least one son and one daughter besides George, who was born in July, 1624, but we know very little about his early life. He says of himself, "In my very young years I had a gravity and stayedness of mind and spirit not usual in children," and "the work of the Lord was begun and gradually carried on in me even from my childhood." William Penn tells us that "from a child he appeared inward, still and observing beyond his years," and, from the references in his "Journal" to the persecutions of Queen Mary's days, and the fact of the martyr ancestry of his mother, we can fancy how this quiet boy would listen eagerly to her stories of the sufferings of his ancestors, and how his

* We do not know which, but perhaps the "Mancetter martyrs," spoken of in Foxe's "Book of Martyrs."

spirit would be stirred, and the thought, which was to bear such fruit in after years, planted in his heart, that Truth was the one thing worth living for, and that he who lived for Truth would always have God on his side, and need not fear any suffering or persecution that might come.

His mother, seeing this extraordinary temper which so early shone through him, did not think fit to trouble him about the way of worship, but was very indulgent to him. Meanwhile he learned to read pretty well, and to write so that he could explain his meaning to others.

He was such a thoughtful, earnest-minded lad that his father proposed to make him a clergyman, but, he tells us in his "Journal," "Others persuaded to the contrary ; whereupon I was put to a man that was a shoemaker by trade, and that dealt in wool and sold cattle, and a great deal went through my hands. While I was in that service," he goes on to say, "I used in my dealings the word 'verily,' and it was a common saying among people that knew me, 'If George says verily, there is no altering him.' When boys and rude people would laugh at me, I let them alone and went my way ; but people had generally a love to me for my innocence and honesty."

He learnt enough of the shoe trade to be able afterwards to work at it in the intervals of preaching, and probably also to make himself that famous suit of leather of which Carlyle has written, and which earned for him the name of "the leather man," as he travelled in it from place to place ; but most of his time with this master was spent in tending the sheep, and we are told that, "as he took most delight in sheep, so he was very skilful in them, an employment that well suited his mind in several respects, both from its innocence and solitude, and was a just figure of his after ministry and service." Here in the green fields, alone with nature and with his

flocks, he would ponder over many things that puzzled him, and seek for light on the religious questions of which men's minds were so full. His wonderful knowledge of the Bible was, no doubt, largely due to his making it his constant companion during these quiet years, which were the seed time of his life, and we find how his prayerful reading and earnest seeking after God were blessed in making him quick to understand God's will, and strong to work and suffer for His truth in years to come.

When he was nearly nineteen years old, he was one day upon business at a fair with two young men, who were both professing Christians. They invited him to join them in drinking part of a jug of beer. George was thirsty and accepted their invitation, but, after they had each drunk a glass, they began calling for more and agreeing that he who would not drink should pay for all. He was so grieved that any who professed to serve Christ should act thus, that, laying some money on the table, he rose up to go, saying, "If it be so, I will leave you." This, which seems a slight incident, was really a turning point in his life. He had often been troubled before by seeing that many who called themselves Christians were not careful to obey the commands of Christ, and were selfish and pleasure seeking, and this seemed to bring it very closely home to him. Everything seemed so unreal and full of sham and hypocrisy. He longed after God, and felt that none of these people whom he had been accustomed to look up to as Christians had really found Him, or their lives would be different, and he was determined to find God for himself in truth and reality.

That night he could not sleep, but walked to and fro, or knelt and prayed to the Lord, pouring out his trouble to Him, till he seemed to hear a voice which bade him "forsake all, both young and old, and be as a stranger unto all." "Then," he says, "at the command of God,

on the 9th day of the 7th month, [September] 1643,* I left my relations, and brake off all familiarity or fellowship with old or young," and so he set off on his journeys, and travelled from place to place, mostly seeking to be alone with God, but sometimes going to tell his spiritual troubles to one or other of the great preachers of the day, in the hope that they might be able to help him. But no one seemed to understand what he was seeking after.

These were the days of the Civil War in England between Charles I. and his Parliament, and we cannot wonder that his relations were troubled at his long absence. So, early in 1645, he returned home, having, as he says, "a regard upon my mind unto my parents and relations lest I should grieve them." They advised him to get married or to enlist in the army; and Nathaniel Stephens, the "priest" of Drayton, had many talks with him, but could give him no help; and, he tells us, "I was in my own country about a year, in great sorrows and troubles, and walked many nights by myself."

Travelling again through many parts of England in his search after true religion, he was almost in despair at finding everywhere the profession of Christianity without a Christlike life. Even the ministers had so little sympathy with his longings after truth and holiness, that some of them advised him to smoke tobacco or to take medicine as a cure for his low spirits!

Wherever he went, he carried his Bible with him, and he learned to know it so well that it was afterwards said of him that, if the Bible were lost, it might have been written out again from his memory.

* Until the change in the Calendar in 1751, the year began in March, and thus September, as its name implies, was the seventh month. In the same way George Fox's death is dated in the "Journal" 13th of 11th mo. 1690; that is, according to the New Style, 13th of January, 1691.

Reading and praying and meditating much on spiritual things, three truths were, as he expresses it, clearly "opened" to him during these years, viz. :—

(1) That none are true believers but those who have passed from death unto life by being born of God.

(2) That to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge is not enough to make a man a minister of Christ, but that there must be a spiritual anointing.

(3) That God does not dwell in temples made with hands, but in human hearts.

As he understood these things better, he left off going to the ministers or other experienced people for help, and then, he tells us in his "Journal," "when all my hopes in them and in all men were gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could tell what to do; then, O! then, I heard a voice which said, 'There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition,' and when I heard it my heart did leap for joy."

And so, after years of seeking, and passing through many times of temptation, he came to know Christ as his Saviour, able to save from sin and to keep him in that nearness to God after which he had longed. He tells us something of how he felt in very beautiful, but quaint, language: "I was taken up in the love of God, so that I could not but admire the greatness of His love . . . and I saw that all was done and to be done in and by Christ, and how He conquers and destroys this tempter, the devil, and all his works and is atop of him . . . and my living faith was raised that I saw all was done by Christ, the life, and my belief was in Him."

Now he understood also that Christianity does not depend on any outward forms, such as attending places of worship or performing certain ceremonies, but is the revelation of a living spirit—the Spirit of God in our

hearts, and that to listen to this voice of God, and to obey its teaching in daily life is to be a true Christian.

George Fox came to believe that God speaks thus to every human soul, and that He dwells in every human heart that is willing to receive and obey Him. This is what is often spoken of as the Quaker doctrine of the Inner Light, and is what George Fox preached everywhere. "I directed the people," he says, "to the divine light of Christ and His spirit in their hearts, by which light they might see their sin, and by which light they might also see their Saviour, Christ Jesus, to save them from their sins."

He tells us in his "Journal" how he went through Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Warwickshire and Nottinghamshire, speaking to all who would listen as he felt that God told him to.

Sometimes he met with companies of those whom he calls "tender" people, *i.e.* those who themselves were seeking for spiritual light, and these generally received him gladly; but often he was moved to go into the churches, which he calls "steeple houses," because the word Church is never used in the New Testament for a *building*, but for a company of believers in the Lord Jesus; and sometimes the ministers and the people were very angry, when he spoke to them of what he believed to be the truth. Very often too he had messages given him for certain individuals, as at Mansfield, where he says, "It was upon me from the Lord to go and speak to the justices, that they should not oppress the servants in their wages, but do that which was right and just to them. And I exhorted the servants to do their duties and serve honestly." He also tells us how at Mansfield he felt it right to go and speak to one of the most wicked men in the country, a great drunkard, and reprove him for his evil ways. The man was so impressed that he turned from his wickedness and became an honest, sober man, to the astonishment of all.

"Thus," he says, "the word of the Lord went forward, and many were turned from the darkness to the light within the compass of these three years 1646, 1647 and 1648. And divers Meetings of Friends in several places were then gathered to God's teaching, by His light, spirit and power; for the Lord's power brake forth more and more wonderfully."

Besides the teaching about the Inner Light, George Fox believed that since God's Spirit is free to all, and no one can come to Christ but as the Spirit of God leads him, so those who teach or seek to help others in spiritual things can only do so, as they are taught and directed by the same Holy Spirit; and that to make a profession of preaching as a means of making a living is wrong, for *all* who have known the love of God, whether young or old, men or women, and whether they are learned scholars or simple farmers or tradespeople, or whatever their station in life may be, are to help to spread the message, and any of them may be chosen and prepared by God Himself, by the anointing of His Holy Spirit, to be preachers. Therefore, as we have freely received from God, so we should freely give our service to help others, and not expect to receive money for what we do. "God," he said, "has come to teach His people by His Spirit," and he tried to turn his hearers "from their teachers made of man to Christ the true and living way, to be taught of Him."

George Fox was from twenty-two to twenty-five years old during these years, when he came to understand these things and began to tell others about them.

It does not seem as if he had at first any idea of founding a Society; but the truths which had become a part of his life were "strange" to those around him; and, as he felt called to preach them, and his hearers were "convinced," they, too, turned away from the man made teachers. Thus it was that a little company was formed of those who believed in the light of Christ in

the heart, and that Christ is Himself the Teacher of His people. At first they called themselves "Children of the Light" or "Friends of Truth"; but one day Gervase Bennett, a Justice of the Peace living near Derby, hearing George Fox tell him and those about him to "tremble at the name of the Lord," took hold of this saying, and in scorn called George Fox and his companions "Quakers," and it soon came to be the name by which the new Society was most commonly known.

We shall hear so much of George Fox in the following pages, that it may be of interest here to try and draw a word-picture of him from the scanty materials which have come down to us.

Of the portraits which we possess, that by Sir Peter Lely, now in the Friends' Historical Library, Swarthmore College, U.S.A., is probably the best known. It is a pleasing picture of a man in middle or rather advanced life, with a strong face, thoughtful and dignified, but withal gentle.

He seems to have worn his hair long, parted in the middle, and falling in natural curls over his shoulders. He refused to crop it, for he said, "I have no pride in it, and it was not of mine own putting on." From under his broad forehead there looked out a pair of clear, penetrating eyes, quick to see below the surface of things, and the terror of hypocrites and deceivers. Two or three times over in his "Journal," we find evil-doers exclaiming, "Do not pierce me so with your eyes!" His nose was long, and his mouth sensitive but firm. In figure he was of medium height, and in later life rather stout, although always a very moderate eater. His manner was reserved and serious, and he avoided needless words or discourse on trivial matters. He must have been a very strong man, for we hear of his going for days without suitable food, sleeping under hedges or haystacks, and enduring hardships and imprisonments which would have killed any ordinary

man. His voice was clear and commanding, and, wherever he went, his very presence seemed to inspire respect and attention even from his enemies.

We are told, for instance, that the officers and soldiers, who had charge of him during his long imprisonment at Scarborough Castle, though they treated him at first with great cruelty, became "mightily changed" and "very respectful," and afterwards, when they had occasion to speak of him, would say, "He is as stiff as a tree, and as pure as a bell, for we could never bow him."

Of his character, William Penn, who knew him well, says:—

"I write by knowledge and not report, and my witness is true, having been with him for weeks and months together . . . and that by night and by day, by sea and by land, in this and in foreign countries; and I can say I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every occasion.

"He was of an innocent life, no busy body, nor self seeker, neither touchy nor critical. . . . So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company. A most merciful man, as ready to forgive as unapt to take or give offence.

"He had an extraordinary gift in opening the Scriptures. But above all he excelled in prayer—the most reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer—and truly it was a testimony, he knew and lived nearer to the Lord than other men; for they that know Him most will see most reason to approach Him with reverence and fear."

"In all things," Penn adds, "he acquitted himself like a man, yea, a strong man, a new and heavenly-minded man. A divine, and a Naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making."

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST QUAKER PREACHERS AND THEIR MESSAGE.

IT was not long before a little band of earnest men and women were gathered together, full of the Spirit of God, and eager to spread the knowledge of His truth; but George Fox continues for some time the central figure of the group, and we will follow the story of his life for a little while, as it is told us by himself in his "Journal."

Twice during these early years, George Fox was put in prison, first at Nottingham, in 1649, for preaching in the church, although his message made such an impression on some of his hearers that the head sheriff, whose name was John Reckless, sent for him out of prison to his house. His wife met George Fox in the hall, and welcomed him with the words, "Salvation is come to our house," and, taking him by the hand, led him in. So he stayed in this house some time, and had great meetings there, and the sheriff and his wife and children and their servants were all changed by the power of the Lord. The next market day this friendly sheriff, who afterwards became a Friend, said to George Fox, "I must go into the market and preach repentance to the people," and so he did, and several others in the town also did the same. Some of them spoke to the mayor and the magistrates, which made them so angry that they ordered the prisoner out of the sheriff's house, and sent him to the common prison. "But," he says, "the Lord's power was great among Friends, and both priests and people were astonished at the wonderful

power that brake forth, and several of the priests were made tender, and some did confess of the power of the Lord."

The next imprisonment was at Derby, in 1650, when he was sent to the House of Correction for six months as a blasphemer, for what he had said after a "lecture" in the church. When taken before the magistrates, he told them that "God dwells not in temples made with hands," and "that all their preaching, baptism and sacrifices would never sanctify them, and bid them look unto Christ in them and not unto men; for it is Christ that sanctifies." "Then," George Fox says, "they ran into many words; but I told them they were not to dispute of God and Christ, but to obey Him."

We must remember that it was quite a common custom, in those Puritan days, for anyone, who felt he had a message to give, to speak in church, after the minister had finished his sermon. The early Friends often availed themselves of this practice. They very rarely interrupted the minister, but waited to speak until he had finished, and it was for *what they said* in church, and not for the actual fact of speaking in church, that they were so often imprisoned.

The Puritans of that day taught that man must always be sinful in this life; George Fox and the early Friends said that this gave an excuse for wrong-doing, and made religion an unreal thing, just a profession of belief which did not change a man's life. They believed and taught that Christ came not only to give us forgiveness, but to give us the power to live pure and holy lives, and for this they were often called blasphemers by others, who thought that they were claiming a holiness of life which could only belong to God. There was often some excuse for this in the unguarded and unusual expressions which Friends made use of.

We can see, however, from George Fox's conversation with these magistrates at Derby, that he did not claim

any goodness or holiness apart from the power of Christ in him. "They asked me," he says, "if I had no sin. I answered, 'Christ my Saviour has taken away my sin, and in Him there is no sin.' They asked how we knew that Christ did abide in us; I said, 'By His Spirit, that He hath given us.' They temptingly asked if any of us were Christ; I answered, 'Nay, we were nothing, Christ was all.'"

From his prison at Derby he wrote several letters to the priests and magistrates, also to the mayor and to the Court, and to the ringers of the bells at St. Peters, as well as several papers to Friends and other "tender people," to carry the messages which were in his heart, but which he was unable to give in person, because of his imprisonment.

One day, his jailer, who had been very bitter against him, said to his wife, "Wife, I have seen the day of judgment, and I saw George there, and I was afraid of him, because I had done him so much wrong." After this he came to George Fox's room, and said, "I have been as a lion against you; but now I come like a lamb, and like the jailer, that came to Paul and Silas, trembling." In the morning he went to see the justices, and told them that he and his house had been plagued for keeping George Fox a prisoner, and they confessed that the same thing had happened to them. So then they gave the prisoner leave to walk a mile, thinking he would escape, but he told them he was not of that spirit.

When the six months' imprisonment was over, they offered to make him a captain in the army which was being raised against Charles Stuart, as they thought he was so brave that he would make a good soldier, and that the country would be well rid of his preaching, but he refused, telling them that he "lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars." They thought they were offering him a great honour, and, when they found that he would not accept

it, they were very angry, and said, "Take him away, jailer, and put him into the dungeon amongst the rogues and felons." Here he was kept in a very dirty, bad smelling place, with no bed, for almost half a year, and saw so much of the harm that was done by herding all sorts of prisoners together, and of the injustice of putting men to death for stealing cattle or even smaller matters, that he wrote to the judges pleading with them to see that none should be oppressed.

At last they turned him out of jail at the beginning of the winter in the year 1651, after he had been a prisoner at Derby about a year. He at once began preaching again, and spent half of the following year in travelling through Yorkshire, sometimes holding meetings in the towns, sometimes amongst the hills and dales, and in many places on the coast, as Whitby and Scarborough, everywhere directing the people to the light of Christ in their hearts, and that they were to follow His teaching in their lives. Sometimes he spoke in the churches, or steeple houses as he calls them, but often in private houses or in the open air. He explained again and again to the people that God dwells, not in any special building, but in men's hearts, so that no place is more holy than another, and also that being taught by men or made ministers by men cannot really make anyone a true minister of Christ. The true call and preparation for the ministry must come from the Spirit of God, and all, who profess to be guided by the Spirit of Christ, must live according to His teaching, or else they are false prophets and not true ministers of Christ. This teaching often made the ministers very angry, for they could not answer his arguments, nor could they prove themselves right from the Bible, though they tried to do so.

It was during this time that Richard Farnsworth, James Nayler, William Dewsbury and his wife, and many others came and listened to George Fox, and were

convinced of the truth, and began themselves to spread it abroad, many of them showing in their lives the truth of the words, which George Fox tells us the Lord had spoken to him, "If but one man or woman were raised up by His power to stand and live in the same spirit that the prophets and apostles were in, that man or woman should shake all the country in their profession for ten miles round."

William Dewsbury was one whose life influenced very many. He was a shepherd in his youth, but when the Civil Wars broke out, he became a soldier, joining with those who said that they fought for the Gospel. Turning his mind to serious things, he came to see that there are spiritual enemies to encounter, and that this is the only warfare in which Christians must engage, according to the words of Christ: "Put up thy sword into the sheath. If My Kingdom were of this world, then would My servants fight." So he left the army, and, when George Fox came and preached near Wakefield, Dewsbury found that the message preached was that of which his own mind was already convinced. He became a very zealous preacher and suffered much, being a prisoner at Warwick for *nineteen* years, besides shorter imprisonments in other places. Yet on his death-bed he gave this wonderful testimony: "I can never forget the day of God's great power and blessed appearance, when He first sent me to preach the everlasting Gospel and proclaim the day of the Lord to all people. Therefore Friends, be faithful, and trust to the Lord your God, for this I can say, I never since played the coward, but as joyfully entered Prisons as Palaces, and in the Prison-house I sang praises to my God, and esteemed the bolts and locks upon me as jewels."

James Nayler had served in the Parliament army, being quarter-master in Major-General Lambert's troop in Scotland, and was an Independent before he joined Friends. He became a powerful preacher both by word

and writing, so that many received the truth through his ministry. His preaching, we are told, was so "eminent," "that many came to esteem him much above his brethren"; and through unwatchfulness and pride he was so led astray as to allow some foolish people to worship him, and to lead him in procession into Bristol town on horseback, singing hosannahs round him as they went, in imitation of the way in which Christ entered Jerusalem. He excused this by saying that the homage was not given to him but to Christ, whose servant he was. On reaching Bristol, however, he was seized and imprisoned, and soon after he was carried to London to be examined by Parliament.

A very cruel sentence was passed upon him, including standing in the pillory, being publicly whipped, both in London and Bristol, having his tongue bored with a hot iron, and finally imprisonment with hard labour "till released by Parliament."

Many thought this too severe a punishment for one, whose crime seemed to have been caused rather by a clouded imagination than any wilful intention of wrong; but, although petitions were signed on his behalf, the whole sentence was, after some delay, carried out, and James Nayler bore it all most patiently. He was afterwards kept in prison for some years, and during this time came to see that he had done wrong, and only grieved for the harm, which his conduct had caused to God's truth and people. It did indeed do much harm at the time, for the charge of blasphemy had always been a very common one against the early Friends, as we have already seen in the case of George Fox at Derby, because they believed in God's Spirit dwelling in man; and now their enemies pointed to James Nayler and said, "See, we were quite right. Here is an example of the blasphemy which this teaching leads to." It is therefore important for us to know that George Fox and many other leading Friends had warned James

Nayler and pleaded with him before his fall, and that afterwards he fully repented and made confession of his sin, and, being forgiven and received back by his Friends, lived a humble and truly Christian life until 1660, when he died at forty-four years of age. Two hours before his death he spoke the following beautiful words : " There is a spirit that I feel, that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things. It sees to the end of all temptations ; as it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thoughts to any other ; if it be betrayed it bears it, for its ground and spring is the mercies and forgiveness of God ; its Crown is meekness ; its Life is everlasting Love unfeigned, and it takes its kingdom with entreaty and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind."

About Christmas time, 1651, George Fox went to York, and on Sunday felt that the Lord commanded him to go to the great Minster and speak to the priest and his hearers. Accordingly he went, and, when the minister had finished, told them that he had something from the Lord God to speak to them. They told him to say on quickly, for it was frost and snow and very cold weather. "Then," he says, "I told them, this was the word of the Lord God unto them, that they lived in words ; but God Almighty looked for fruits amongst them." "As soon as the words were out of my mouth," he says, "they hurried me out and threw me down the steps ; but I got up again without hurt and went to my lodging again, and several were convinced there."

In many places the people would not listen to him, but would set upon him with sticks and staves, and stone him out of the town, and he had so often to sleep in the fields, that it was rumoured that he would not sleep in a bed.

At Pickering, where the justices held their sessions in the steeple house, he had a meeting in the school-

room, and "Justice Robinson's priest," he says, "was very lowly and loving, and would have paid for my dinner, but I would by no means suffer it." "The old priest" who had lent the schoolhouse, a Mr. Boyes, went with him when he travelled on, and coming to a town the bells rang for Fox to preach in the church. He spoke, however, in the *church yard*, to make them understand that the church was no more holy than any other place, and he says, "The Lord gave me a good opportunity amongst them, and all was quiet and many were convinced; blessed be the Lord."

Passing on to another town, Mr. Boyes still going with him, there was another great meeting, of which he gives this strange account: "Now I sat on a haystack and spake nothing for some hours; for I was to famish them from words." This was difficult to understand, and the people became restless and kept asking, "When will he begin?" "What does it mean?" "When will he speak?" Mr. Boyes urged them to have patience, for he said, "The people waited upon Christ a long while before He spake." At last he was "moved of the Lord to speak; and they were struck by the Lord's power, and the word of life reached to them, and there was a general convincement amongst them." One result of this was that, as they journeyed on, some people called to the old priest and said, "Mr. Boyes, we owe you some money for tithes, pray come and take it." But he threw up his hands and said he had enough, he would have none of it, and praised the Lord he had enough.

George Fox travelled on, sometimes by himself, sometimes with Richard Farnsworth, William Dewsbury, Thomas Goodyear, Thomas Aldam or James Nayler as his companions, and, after preaching at Malton, Hull, Doncaster, and many other places in Yorkshire, he says, "We came near a very high hill called Pendle Hill, and I was moved of the Lord to go up to the top

of it, and I did with much ado, it was so very steep and high. When I was come to the top of this hill, I saw the sea bordering upon Lancashire; and from the top of this hill the Lord let me see in what places He had a great people to be gathered"; and the next day, he adds, "The Lord let me see a great people in white raiment by the river side coming to the Lord, and the place that I saw them in was about Wensleydale and Sedbergh."

After this he travelled into these places which he had seen from Pendle Hill, and it happened just as had been shown him, that a great many were gathered to the Lord from the dales and towns of Westmorland and Northern Lancashire.

One First-day he came to Firbank Chapel, in Westmorland, where Francis Howgill and John Audland, two young Independent ministers, had been preaching in the morning. George Fox seated himself on a rock close to the chapel, and in the afternoon about a thousand of the people with several of their preachers gathered round him, and for about three hours he "declared God's everlasting truth and word of life freely and largely"; and he says, "The Lord's convincing power accompanied my ministry and reached home unto the hearts of the people, whereby many were convinced that day, and all the teachers of that congregation (who were many) were convinced of God's everlasting truth that day." Francis Howgill and also John Audland and his wife Anne, became earnest ministers amongst Friends. John Audland travelled very extensively with his dear friend, John Camm. They were both very earnest workers, especially in holding large open-air meetings near Bristol for three or four months.

We are told that John Audland was "of a sweet, ruddy and amiable countenance and of a cheerful spirit, immortality shined in his face and his voice was as thunder." He was at this time under twenty years of age.

In a letter to George Fox, John Camm says, "We have here in Bristol most commonly 3,000 to 4,000 at a Meeting. The priests and magistrates begin to rage but the soldiers [of the Commonwealth] keep them down; for the Governor of the Castle is not against us, and the Captain of the Royal Fort is absolutely convinced. . . . And we hit some every time we shoot, for 'our bow bides in strength.' " The weather was very cold with frost and snow, but the ministers worked unceasingly, and the people came not only to the meetings, but, in their eagerness for private conversation, called on them before they were up in the morning, so that they often began at six o'clock and did not finish their day's work till eleven or even one o'clock at night. "Every day was like one long meeting." The hard work and exposure told on John Camm's health, and he died of consumption about two years later. John Audland also had his life shortened by the hardships and persecutions of these years, and, when dying at the age of thirty-four, said, "Ah, those great meetings in the orchard at Bristol, I may not forget! I would so gladly have spread my net over all, and have gathered all, that I forgot myself, never considering the weakness of my body. But it is well. My reward is with me, and I am content to give up and be with the Lord; for that my soul values above all things."

Anne Audland came from Kendal, and before she was married used to meet with some of her friends there to wait upon God in silence and for prayer, so that, when she heard George Fox's preaching, it was what she had already felt in her own heart.

At the age of twenty-seven, we are told that she preached at Auckland in Durham on a market day, and was imprisoned in the jail, but continued to speak to the people through the window. Many were much moved, and one gentleman afterwards took her home to his house, but, when she saw that his wife was annoyed

at his bringing a Quaker guest, she would not stay there, but went out into the fields to find some sheltered place to spend the night. However, Justice Pearson, who had heard about it, came with his horse and pillion and escorted her to his house. The next winter she and Mabel Camm (wife of John Camm) preached at Banbury, where several hundred people were led to Christ and a large Meeting formed, as well as Meetings in other places near by. The Mayor of Banbury, however, put Anne Audland in prison, and for seven or eight months she was shut up in a filthy place, below the ground, with an open sewer running by it, and frogs and toads crawling about the room. Another Friend, Jane Waugh, who had been a servant of John Camm's, came to visit her and was also imprisoned with her. But in this dismal place we are told that "they abode, as in a palace, being kept by the peace of God."

The Firbank Meeting, followed by one at Preston Patrick, resulted in the conviction of a great body of "Seekers," who greatly increased the strength of the new movement and supplied it with many of the men who became the "First Publishers of Truth." Fox was no longer alone in his work; he could rely on a band of consecrated men and women to help him in proclaiming his message.

CHAPTER IV.

SWARTHMORE HALL.

FROM this important work, in the summer of 1652, George Fox passed to Swarthmore near Ulverston, where lived Judge Fell, a man loved and respected throughout all that country side for his hospitality and love of justice. He was one of the judges who went the circuit of Chester and North Wales; he was also Vice-Chancellor of the County Palatine of Lancaster, Chancellor of the Duchy Court of Westminster and a County Magistrate. For some years he was one of the Members of Parliament for Lancaster. In 1632 he had married Margaret Askew. She was not quite eighteen when she came as a bride to Swarthmore Hall, but had been well educated, and filled her position as mistress with dignity and grace.

From the beginning of their married life Judge Fell and his wife had welcomed to their home the good and great, whether strangers or personal friends, and especially took delight in the visits of ministers of religion, who chanced to be in their neighbourhood; and so, although the Judge was absent in Wales, George Fox was hospitably received at Swarthmore Hall by the lady of the house and her daughters, who had heard of him as a good and fearless, but much persecuted man, and, as such, had been wishing to see and hear him for themselves. His conversation in the family circle convinced Margaret Fell and her daughters that he was right, although it was grievous to them to find that he did not agree with their minister, Mr. Lampitt, whom they had thought to be a very good man.

The day after George Fox's arrival was a fast day, and there was a special service at the Parish church at Ulverston. Margaret Fell invited her visitor to attend, and he replied that he must do as he was ordered by the Lord. So Mistress Fell and her family went to church, and George Fox walked in the fields to commune with God.

Whilst they were singing George Fox came in, and, after they had done, asked leave to speak, and mounting a form began with the words: "He is not a Jew that is one outward, but he is a Jew that is one inward, whose praise is not of man but of God." At first Margaret Fell stood up in her pew so as to lose no word or action of the speaker, but as he went on, showing powerfully how Christ was the true Shepherd of His people, and that those who would follow Him must live in His life and spirit, she was so overwhelmed with the truth of what he said, and the thought that she and those worshipping with her had been wrong, that she sat down and wept bitterly. Soon Justice Sawrey called out, "Take him away," and was about to turn him out by force, when a firm but gentle voice was heard inquiring, "Why may he not speak as well as another?" and this remonstrance from the Judge's lady settled the question, and he was allowed to go on.

About three weeks later Judge Fell returned from circuit. Several parties of gentlemen went out across the sands to meet him as he came from Lancaster, and told him that a great disaster had befallen his family whilst he was away—that they "were all bewitched," and that if he did not quickly send away those who had taken them out of their religion, "the country would be undone." The Judge therefore came home in high displeasure, and his wife felt much trepidation as to the result. "Any may think," she says, "what a condition I was like to be in, that either I might displease my husband or offend God." But with quiet faith she

held on her way, only sending a message to George Fox to ask him to come over and talk with her husband, that he might have a full opportunity of understanding the new teaching. Judge Fell was a very liberal-minded and just man, and was moreover very fond of his wife. Two Friends, James Nayler and Richard Farnsworth, who happened to be at the Hall, began to talk to him, and, though at first he was very angry, as he listened to their arguments he became calmer and more reasonable ; and when, that same evening, George Fox arrived, he was quite willing to listen to him, and after a long talk was perfectly satisfied of the truth of his teaching.

Although Priest Lampitt and many others afterwards tried to influence the Judge against Friends, they never succeeded. On the contrary, hearing some Friends consulting together as to where they could hold a meeting in that neighbourhood, he promptly said, " You may meet here if you will," and from that time until 1690 (when the Meeting-house was erected by George Fox), a Meeting was kept up there in the great dining hall. Judge Fell himself never became a Friend, but visitors to the Hall are still shown his little study which opens off the dining hall, where, we are told, he used to sit whilst meetings were in progress, so as to hear all that went on. George Fox says of him, " After we had discoursed a pretty time together, Judge Fell himself was satisfied and came to see, by the openings of the Spirit of God in his heart, over all the priests and teachers of the world, and did not go to hear them for some years before he died ; for he knew it was the truth that I declared, and that Christ was the teacher of His people and their Saviour . . . and, being satisfied that it was the way of truth, he let the Meeting be kept at his house, and a great Meeting was settled there in the Lord's power."

Judge Fell's position made him very useful to the new Society. As long as he lived his wife was safe from

open persecution, and could use her home, as she loved to do, as a safe resting-place and meeting-ground for Friends from all parts of England, and the Judge was always ready to use his influence to protect Friends and help them in their work.

By the year 1653, we find that no fewer than thirty travelling preachers had joined George Fox, and by 1654 this number had increased to sixty. For all these, Swarthmore Hall was for many years not only a place of rest and refreshment, where they were always sure of sympathy and welcome, but also a centre of organisation, where they met to talk over and arrange their plans, the place from which they went out and to which they returned from their travels.

There was also a central fund, managed by Margaret Fell and Kendal Friends, established for helping ministers on their journeys, or providing necessary food and clothing for those who were in prison or their families. For these purposes the early Friends gave liberally. They did not believe in paying people for preaching, but they certainly believed that those who had money should freely use it to help those who felt called to preach the Gospel, but who had not means of their own for travelling and other needful expenses.

As mistress of Swarthmore Hall, Margaret Fell was the central figure in all these arrangements, and no history of Quakerism, however short, would be complete, which did not tell something about her beautiful life and influence. If George Fox was the founder of Quakerism, she was quite as truly its nursing mother.

William Caton, a young man of good family, had been invited to live at Swarthmore Hall as companion to the only son, George, and was being educated with him. He tells in his "Journal" how much he owed to Margaret Fell's loving motherly care. When the young men were about to be sent together to college, William, who was already an earnest "Friend," was so troubled

at the thought of the separation, that he was allowed to remain as secretary to Margaret Fell and tutor to the younger children. When only eighteen years old, he believed himself called to preach the Gospel in foreign lands, and was one of the first Quaker missionaries among the Dutch. He suffered many long and severe imprisonments. Swarthmore Hall he always regarded as his English home, and looked back to the years he had spent there as to an oasis of heavenly light and love. He died, at the age of twenty-seven, in Holland, his life having probably been shortened by his incessant travels and many sufferings.

His help as secretary must have been of real value to the busy mother, who was also mother to the whole Church. Although very few letters have been preserved in her own handwriting, we can a little judge of the number she must have written or dictated from those which are addressed to her from Friends all over the world, and which seem to have been carefully preserved at Swarthmore. Many hundreds of these are now in the Devonshire House collection* alone. From these we learn how she wrote to those who were in prison letters of sympathy and cheer, to travelling ministers, assuring them of the interest and prayers of their Friends at home; and not only were her letters full of personal messages, but she interested herself in all that concerned the general welfare of the Church, organising plans for raising funds for those who needed help, arranging for travelling ministers, or for deputations to the King or Government. Very freely too did she give of her own private means for all these purposes.

Besides all this correspondence Margaret Fell was quite an authoress. In 1656-7 she published three works, two of them addressed to the Jews, for whom she

* Library of books, manuscripts, etc., belonging to the Society of Friends, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate Street Without, London.

seems to have felt a very special concern. One of these books is called, "A loving Salutation to the Seed of Abraham among the Jews, wherever they are scattered up and down on the face of the Earth." This was translated into Hebrew by her friend John Stubbs, and widely circulated.

In 1658 Judge Fell died, and his widow was left to bear the brunt of persecution and avarice without his strong protection. She had now a family of seven daughters and one son. The daughters had joined Friends with their mother and were all very loving and devoted to her; the eldest was now twenty-five, and the youngest five years old. The son, George Fell, was now twenty-two. He was a law student and lived mostly in London, where he had chambers in the Temple. He had no sympathy with Friends, being wrapped up in his profession, and only regarded his mother's connection with such a despised people as a misfortune and disgrace. Margaret Fell suffered much from his unkindness in later years.

During the years which followed her husband's death, George Fox and many other Friends were taken prisoners from her house; and in 1663 an officer was sent to Swarthmore to bring Margaret Fell before a special meeting of magistrates at Ulverston. They asked her many questions about the meetings held at her house, and wanted her to promise that no more meetings should be held there. To this she replied that, whilst it pleased the Lord to let her have a house, she would in spirit and truth endeavour to worship Him therein. Then they tendered her the oath of allegiance, which of course, as they knew would be the case, she refused to take, so they forthwith committed her to Lancaster Castle to await trial at the next assizes.

When the day of the trial came, she appeared at the bar, leading little Rachel, her youngest child, by the hand, and surrounded by her four older daughters who

were at home. The judge, we are told, ordered the jailer to bring "a cushioned seat for Mistress Fell," and seeing her daughters, he added, "Let not Mistress Fell's daughters stand at the bar; let them come up hither." So the four sisters were seated near the judge.

She pleaded her cause eloquently and well, and refused either to take the oath of allegiance or to promise to hold no more meetings at Swarthmore, although she was warned that the penalty for refusal would be forfeiture of all her property and imprisonment for life. She could only reply, "I must keep my conscience clear, however I may suffer," and so she was led back again within the gloomy old walls of the Castle prison.

Three times more they brought her to the bar to try to shake her resolution, and her lawyers pleaded for her, but all in vain. On the 21st of Seventh Month, 1664, Judge Turner passed sentence of premunire against her, by which she was outlawed, condemned to imprisonment for life, and all her property forfeited to the Crown. But neither her faith nor her courage failed. "The great God of heaven and earth," she says, "supported my spirit under that severe sentence, so that I was not terrified, but gave Judge Turner this answer: 'Although I am out of the King's protection, I am not out of the protection of the Almighty God.'"

This imprisonment lasted for four and a half years, and was accepted by her in a spirit of such quiet confidence that she could write to one of her daughters, "Dear Margaret, let nothing enter thy mind concerning me, for I am very well content with the work of the Lord . . . let neither murmuring nor repining enter any of your minds . . . let not sorrow fill your hearts, for we have all cause to rejoice in the Lord evermore, and I most of all."

During the whole time, she was kept in touch by her many correspondents with all that was going on, and from her prison she still wrote letters of comfort and

encouragement to others. If her enemies intended to keep her thoughts from making their way abroad by shutting her up in prison, they were greatly mistaken, for she wrote more during her imprisonment than at any other time in her life.

At one time she felt called upon to expostulate with and warn King Charles, which she did in a letter dated : "From my prison at Lancaster Castle, the 6th day of the 6th month [August], 1666."

In this letter she says, "Before any of this was, I was sent of the Lord to tell thee, oh King, of the state of our people, and to show thee that they were an innocent, harmless, peaceable people—that they were and are so, I could then, ever since, and now, seal with my blood, if put to it. Thy answer to me was '*If they be peaceable they shall be protected.*' I likewise told thee that we must worship God, for God required it of us. . . . All this and much more, I can truly say I wrote to thee, in the fear of the Lord and in much love and tenderness. And now I ask, for which of these things hast thou kept me in prison three long winters, in a place not fit for human beings to live in? A place where storm, wind and rain enter, and which is sometimes filled with smoke ; so that it is much wonder I am alive, and this only because the power and goodness of God hath been with me.

"Now after all my sufferings, in the same feelings of love that I visited thee in the beginning, I once more beseech thee to fear the Lord God, by whom Kings rule and princes decree justice ; who sets up one and pulls down another at His pleasure. And let not the guilt of the breach of that word that passed from thee at Breda lie any longer on thy conscience ; but perform as thou promised when thou wast in distress. Harken not to wicked counsellors, that heretofore have prevented thee ; they will bear none of thy burden for thee, when

the Lord's voice accuses of breach of covenant with Him and His people."

At last, in 1668, the efforts which had been made to obtain her release were successful, and she was once more free to return home. But after only a few months' rest she began a series of visits to all the jails in England, where any Friends were imprisoned, and in most cases also to the families of the prisoners. These visits took her about a year to make, and during that time she left her youngest daughter, Rachel, now a girl of fifteen, at the new school, which had lately been opened for the daughters of Friends at Shacklewell, near London. Most of the English prisons in those days were horrible places, and we can imagine how gladly the poor prisoners would welcome her visits ; her own experience, as well as her sympathetic nature, having so well fitted her for such a mission. Some of those to whom she came speak of the remembrances of her visits rising up before them, as they lay on their miserable prison beds, bringing joy and gladness inexpressible.

But this has carried us on rather further in our story. We must go back to 1653-4, when, with Swarthmore Hall as a centre, sixty ministers travelling in the "service of Truth," and numerous Meetings "settled" in Yorkshire, Westmorland, Lancashire and other counties, we may consider the Society of the "Friends of Truth" fairly established.

The rapid spread of the new teaching brought fresh opposition and more bitter persecution, but we must leave the history of the next few years to another chapter.

CHAPTER V.

PERSECUTION.

ENGLAND was now under the rule of Oliver Cromwell. In 1653, he had dissolved the Long Parliament and called another in its place, but this Parliament soon resigned its power to Cromwell and his officers. At the close of the year the Council they had formed declared "That henceforth the chief rule of the Nation should be entrusted to a single person, and that this person should be Oliver Cromwell, and that his title should be Lord Protector of the Commonwealth. He was to have a Council of twenty-one persons to assist him in the Government and was to call a Parliament every three years."

In his speech at the opening of his first Parliament, Cromwell laid great stress on the importance of liberty of conscience. "Liberty of Conscience," he said, "is a natural right, and he that would have it ought to give it"; and again, "This I say is a fundamental; it ought to be so; it is for us and the generations to come."

But, although he spoke so strongly, he was not able to act up to his convictions, for there were few people then who shared his views. The Royalists and Church party had indeed been conquered, but many of the Puritans were very bitter against any who differed from them in matters of religion, and Cromwell was dependent on their support.

And so it came to pass that persecution continued, and at one time over a thousand Friends were in prison

under Cromwell's rule. Besides those who were imprisoned on the charges of blasphemy already referred to, many were punished for not paying tithes, that is, the tenth part of all profits from land or the produce of land, which was demanded from everyone for the support of the national ministry. Friends felt it wrong to pay, because they thought it made preaching into a means of earning a living, instead of a free service to be undertaken by those who had really received a message from God, and who should preach not for money, but freely, even as Christ taught His disciples, "Freely ye have received, freely give."

Other Friends, who travelled from place to place, preaching and holding meetings, were thrown into prison under a law that was really meant for vagrants or wandering beggars.

They sometimes lay in prison for weeks without trial ; and, when brought into Court to answer to the charges against them, they were often still further accused, either of contempt of Court for refusing to take off their hats, or of disloyalty to the Government, because, in obedience to the command of Christ, "Swear not at all," they refused to take any oath, even the oath of allegiance. Hats were much worn in those days, indoors as well as out, and were only removed as a mark of respect in the presence of great people ; and the early Friends believed that such distinctions were wrong ; all men, they said, should be treated with equal courtesy, but none with flattery, and any bowing or removing of the hat should be given only to God. This testimony against "hat worship," as they called it, was so much a matter of conscience with them that many were willing to suffer imprisonment for it.

The testimony of the early Friends against taking oaths was only one result of their strong belief that Christians ought to be *truthful, reverent* and *pure* in everything they say. This was why they refused to

use the plural pronoun "you" to a single person, or to call the days and months after the names of heathen gods. Most Friends of the present day follow the general custom in these things, because "you" is now addressed to poor and rich alike, and has come to be practically recognised as the singular form; and we have found that the English language is so rich in words with historical associations that, even if we left out of our vocabulary such words as Thursday and Friday, and March, there would still be so many name-words and others in common use to which similar objections could be made, that it would be almost impossible to keep from using some of them, and no one now regards the use of these words as offering any sort of homage to the ancient heathen gods.

The strongest testimony of the Friends, however, as regarded speech, and one which we still hold to-day, was against the taking of oaths. They constantly appealed to the command of Christ, "Swear not at all," and to the reason which He gave His disciples for keeping to "Yea, yea; nay, nay," that "whatsoever is more than this cometh of evil." Any kind of swearing, they said, introduces two standards of truthfulness; our testimony is to speech absolutely truthful under all circumstances. Robert Barclay expresses it in a few words when he says, "It is not lawful for Christians to swear at all under the Gospel, not only not vainly, and in their common discourse, which was also forbidden under the Mosaic law, but even not in judgment before the Magistrate." How strongly they felt about this is shown by their willingness to suffer in support of their testimony. Many hundreds were often in prison for this reason alone.

One of these, Francis Howgill, was an Independent minister before he became a Friend. He was a man of great zeal and power, and the authorities were anxious to stop him from preaching. One day, in

1663, when attending to his ordinary business in Kendal market, he was arrested, carried before a Magistrate who was sitting at a tavern, and asked to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy. Francis Howgill refused to swear, and, although he repeatedly stated that he was a loyal and peaceable man, he was imprisoned in Appleby jail for five and a half years, where he suffered many cruelties until death released him.

Other Friends had their goods stolen ; but, because they would not take the oath, they were not allowed to give evidence against the robbers, who thus went free, whilst the poor Friends were sent to prison for not swearing.

George Fox and others frequently pleaded that they might be allowed to affirm instead of swearing, and pointed out that people who were willing to suffer rather than take an oath would be found to give truthful evidence, and at last, in 1689, this boon was conferred upon them by the Toleration Act. John S. Rowntree, speaking on this subject at the Scarborough Summer School in 1897, said, "For more than two hundred years the penalties attaching to false affirmation have been the same as those for perjury. After making careful inquiry in this country and in the United States, I have been unable to discover that any person has ever been convicted of making a false affirmation."

At the beginning of 1655, the authorities were very nervous about plots against the Government, and some large meetings held by George Fox were reported to London, and he was taken at Leicester by Colonel Hacker and carried to London to the Lord Protector.

As Fox and Cromwell were at this time two of the most remarkable men in England their meeting is of great interest. They were both men with high ideals of duty and great earnestness of purpose. They did not understand one another fully, and yet each seemed to recognise something of a kindred spirit in the other.

On arriving in London, Fox wrote a paper to the Protector showing him that he was innocent of any plot, for his aim was to bring people "from the causes of war and fighting to the peaceable gospel." He thus describes his first meeting with Oliver Cromwell:—

"After some time Captain Drury brought me before the Protector himself at Whitehall. It was in a morning, before he was dressed, and one Harvey, who had come a little among Friends, but was disobedient, waited upon him. When I came in, I was moved to say, 'Peace be in this house'; and I exhorted him to keep in the fear of God, that he might receive wisdom from Him, and order all things under his hand to God's glory. . . .

"I spake much to him of truth, and a great deal of discourse I had with him about religion; wherein he carried himself very moderately. But he said we quarrelled with priests, whom he called ministers; I told him, I did not quarrel with them, but they quarrelled with me and my friends."

George Fox then explained very fully to him how Friends believed that those who know Christ should preach freely and not for money, and that mere words, even the words of the Bible, could not help anyone unless they were preached and listened to in the power of the Holy Spirit. Whilst he was talking, others came in, so Fox turned to go away. Then Oliver Cromwell caught him by the hand, and with tears in his eyes said, "Come again to my house, for if thou and I were but an hour of a day together we should be nearer one to the other."

The Protector sent a messenger after him to tell him that he was at liberty and might go wherever he liked. So he went into the City of London, and had "great and powerful meetings," the crowds being often so great that he was hardly able to get to and from the meetings, and "truth spread exceedingly."

"After a while," he tells us, "I went to Whitehall again, and was moved to declare the day of the Lord

amongst them, and that the Lord was come to teach His people Himself ; so I preached truth both to the Officers, and to them that were called Oliver's gentlemen, who were of his guard. But there was a priest that opposed, . . . for Oliver had several priests about him, of which this was his newsmonger, an envious priest, and a light, scornful, chaffy man. I bid him repent ; and he put it in his news-book the next week that I had been at Whitehall and had bid a godly minister there repent. . . . He put in the news-book that I wore silver buttons, which was false, for they were but alchemy.* Afterward he put in the news-book that I hung ribands on people's arms, which made them to follow me ; this was another of his lies . . . but the Lord's power came over all their lies and swept them away . . . and the glory of the Lord was felt over all to His everlasting praise, and a great convincement there was in London, and some in the Protector's house and family."

Again, in 1656, Fox went to Whitehall to speak to Cromwell about the sufferings of Friends, and says, "The power of the Lord God arose in me, and I was moved in it to bid him lay down his crown at the feet of Jesus." The last time he saw Cromwell was in 1658, when he met him riding into Hampton Court Park at the head of his life-guard. Fox "laid the sufferings of Friends before him," and "warned him" according as he "was moved to speak," and Cromwell invited him to come and see him at his house. But when Fox went the next day Cromwell was too ill to be seen, and they never met again.

Sewel tells us that in April, 1659, when many Friends were confined in prisons and dungeons, "some being fettered, and others lying sick on only a little straw," a paper was presented to Parliament, signed by 164 Friends, who offered "to put themselves in the stead of

* A cheap metal made to imitate gold.

their brethren," being ready "out of true love to change places with them, so that they might go out and not die by hardship, as many had done already." This offer was not, however, accepted, nor was anything done to release the imprisoned.

It is impossible in a short chapter like this to tell of the countless sufferings, through which many faithful men and women passed rather than be disobedient to what they believed right. All that can be done is to give an instance here and there, typical of what was going on all over the country during these years.

Sewel relates that in the year 1655, William Dewsbury and several of his friends were put into prison at Northampton and kept there above half a year without trial. William Dewsbury was taken up on accusation of deceiving the people, two others for standing in silence in church during the service, another for speaking to the Mayor in the street with his hat on about persecution; and, although at their trial nothing deserving imprisonment could be proved against any of them, and they had already been kept there above twenty-nine weeks, they were all sent back to prison; and Sewel adds, "But I won't detain my reader any longer with these prisoners, for, if I should relate all occurrences of this nature that are come to my knowledge, and under what unreasonable pretences, even such that were as yet not fully entered into the communion of those called Quakers were committed to prison, I must write much more than I might be able to do, though my life should yet be lengthened considerably."

In 1653, George Fox was imprisoned at Carlisle in a filthy dungeon "amongst the moss-troopers, thieves and murderers." "Yet," he tells us, "bad as the place was, the prisoners were all made very loving and subject to me; and some of them were convinced of the truth." But the jailer was very cruel, and the under-jailer beat George Fox and the Friends who came to see him with a

great cudgel. "One time," he tells us, "while he struck me, I was made to sing in the Lord's power, and that made him rage the more. Then he went and fetched a fiddler, and brought him in where I was, and set him to play, thinking to vex me thereby; but while he played, I was moved in the everlasting power of the Lord God to sing; and my voice drowned the noise of the fiddle, and made them give over fiddling and go their ways."

It was during this imprisonment at Carlisle that George Fox was visited by James Parnell, whose story is one of the saddest and yet most beautiful of those which belong to these years of persecution. He was sixteen years old when he was "convinced" through visiting George Fox in prison, and, although he only lived to be nineteen, he was the means in those few years of bringing many thousands to the knowledge of Christ their Saviour. He was so small for his age that George Fox speaks of him as "a little lad," but he had been well educated in "the schools of literature," and soon became a powerful preacher. He disputed, we are told, with the Scholars of Cambridge University, and travelled through the eastern counties, calling men to repentance. His relations disowned him and he suffered many persecutions, but his courage and zeal never failed.

In 1655, a fast was proclaimed at Coggeshall "to pray against the errors of the people called Quakers," where the priest "cried out fiercely against the Quakers as deceivers." When he had finished speaking, James Parnell felt it right to reply, but they would not hear him, and finally he was sent to Colchester jail, where none of his friends were allowed to visit him. When the sessions at Chelmsford came on, he was fastened to a chain with several felons and murderers, and led about eighteen miles through the country, remaining chained both night and day. Although nothing wrong could be proved against him, he was fined £40, "for

contempt of the magistracy and ministry," and sent back to prison until the fine should be paid. The prison was an old ruinous castle, reported to have been built in the time of the Romans, and the jailer was commanded not to let any "giddy-headed people" (meaning Friends) come near him. The jailer was willing enough to comply with this order, for both he and his wife were very cruel and continually beat James Parnell. They let the other prisoners steal his food, and would not allow him to have the bed which his friends offered him, but made him lie on the cold damp stones. Afterwards they put him to sleep in a hole in the wall, of which Sewel says that it was "much like to a baker's oven; for the walls of that building, which is indeed a direful nest, are of an excessive thickness, as I have seen myself." "Being confined in the said hole, which was, as I remember about twelve foot high from the ground, and the ladder too short by six foot, he must climb up and down by a rope on a broken wall, which he was forced to do to fetch his victuals; for, though his friends would have given him a cord and a basket to draw up his victuals in, yet such was the malice of his keepers that they would not suffer this."

Continuing in this damp place, his limbs grew so numb that one day, as he came to the top of the ladder, with his basket of food in one hand, and was reaching for the rope with the other, he missed it, and fell down upon the stones, being so wounded and bruised that he was taken up for dead. Then they put him into a hole underneath the other, for there were two rows of these holes in the wall. This hole was called the oven, and was very small and had no window; nor would they let him go out to take the air, though he was often almost spent for want of breath. One of his friends, Thomas Shortland, offered to lie in this dreadful hole in his place "body for body," that James Parnell might go to a Friend's house to recover, but this was also refused.

He suffered thus for ten or eleven months with great patience, and then fell sick and died. Two of his friends were allowed to visit him at the last, and as they watched lovingly beside him, he said, "Now I must go ; do not hold me, but let me go," and soon after he passed peacefully away.

CHAPTER VI.

INSIDE THE PRISONS.

IN hearing about the sufferings of the early Friends, we must remember that the prisons in those days were very different from the clean, well-ordered places which are used now. At that time they were mostly dark, damp and dirty, and consequently very unhealthy; and sometimes the Friends were thrown into a room crowded with thieves and all sorts of felons, just according to the will of the jailer. Fevers often broke out amongst the prisoners, and many died.

In George Fox's "Journal" we have several instances of such dirty and unhealthy prisons. Once he and two other Friends were confined for some time in Launceston jail, and after a time, finding that they were not likely to be soon set at liberty, they refused any longer to pay the jailer seven shillings a week each for themselves, and the same for their horses, which sum he had at first demanded from them. He was so angry at this that he turned them into a dungeon called "Doomsdale," "so noisome that few who went into it did ever come out again in health," and, although some friendly people brought them candles and meat, they were not allowed to have them. The place was so dirty that they could not sit down in it, and for several weeks the jailer would not even allow them to have it cleaned.

Another time, George Fox was imprisoned in Lancaster Castle for refusing to swear, and Sewel says, "The Jailer locked him up in a smoky tower, where one could hardly see a burning candle, so that there seemed to have been

an intent to choke him, for the turnkey could hardly be persuaded to unlock one of the upper doors a little to let out the smoke. Besides this hardship, in wet weather it rained in upon his bed to that degree that his shirt grew wet. In this pitiful condition he lay during a long cold winter." When at last he was brought out, he was so weak that he could hardly stand or sit on horseback. But he was not allowed any rest, but carried off at once by way of Bentham and York to Scarborough.

At Scarborough he was put into a room in the Castle which smoked exceedingly, and the rain came in. He spent about fifty shillings to keep out the rain, and then they moved him into a worse room, which had neither chimney nor fireplace, and which was so open to the weather on the seaward side that the rain and spray drove in, and the water ran about the room and over his bed. Having no fire at which to dry his clothes, he was in a most pitiable state, and in this room he was kept for three months.

In some ways, however, the prisoners had greater liberty than they have now, for, unless specially forbidden to do so, their friends might come and see them, and, as every prisoner was expected to provide his own food and bedding, they were often dependent upon their friends to bring them what they needed.

There was living at this time a young man named Thomas Ellwood, of good family, whose parents were great friends of Isaac and Mary Penington. Isaac Penington was the son of a Lord Mayor of the city of London, and his wife was the widow of Sir William Springett and mother of Gulielma Maria Springett, who afterwards married William Penn. When Gulielma was quite a little girl, Thomas Ellwood had been chosen as her particular playfellow, and used to ride with her in her little coach drawn by her footman about Lincoln's Inn Fields. The Peningtons had now joined Friends, and through their means Thomas Ellwood heard the

Quaker teaching, and became convinced himself that it was the truth. This displeased his father very much so that he could hardly bear to have his son in the house with him, because he would not take off his hat, or say "you" and "Sir." Consequently Thomas lived a good deal with his friends the Peningtons, or travelled about; and, as he was very steadfast in his testimony to what he believed right, he often had to suffer, as other Friends did in those days. He was very anxious to improve himself in his studies, and for this purpose was for some time a pupil of the great poet John Milton. Milton was blind, and was very glad to have some one to read to him, so Thomas Ellwood went every day and read such books as he was asked to, most of them in Latin, and Milton corrected his pronunciation and explained the difficult passages.

Thomas Ellwood wrote a very interesting history of his own life, and the accounts of his imprisonments give us a very good idea of the prisons at that time. He tells us that, one morning in 1662, he was attending a meeting at the "Bull and Mouth" by Aldersgate, when suddenly the soldiers rushed in and carried off all who were there to Bridewell prison. He says, "It was a general storm which fell that day, so that most of our men Friends were made prisoners, and the prisons generally filled; and yet, when all were come together, there was but one whom I knew so much as by face; for, having been but a little while in the City, and in that time kept close to my studies, I was by that means known to very few. Great work had the women to run about from prison to prison to find their husbands, their fathers, their brothers or their servants. And no less care and pains had they, when they had found them, to furnish them with provisions and other necessary accommodations. But an excellent order, even in those early days, was practised among the Friends of that city, by which there were certain Friends of either sex appointed to

have the oversight of the prisons in every quarter, and to take care of all Friends, the poor especially, that should be committed there.

“This prison of Bridewell was under the care of two honest, grave, discreet and motherly women, whose names were Anne Merrick and Anne Travers, both widows. They, so soon as they understood that there were Friends brought into that prison, provided some hot victuals, meat and broth, for the weather was cold ; and ordering their servants to bring it, with bread, cheese and beer, came themselves also with it ; and having placed it on a table, gave notice to us, that it was provided for all those that had not others to provide for them, or were not able to provide for themselves. And there wanted not among us a competent number of such guests.”

“As for my part,” Thomas Ellwood continues, “though I had lived as frugally as I possibly could, yet had I by this time reduced my little stock to tenpence, which was all the money I had about me, or anywhere else at my command. This was but a small estate to enter upon an imprisonment with, yet was I not at all discouraged by it, nor had I a murmuring thought. I had lived by Providence before, when for a long time I had no money at all, and I had always found the Lord a good provider. I made no doubt, therefore, that He who sent the ravens to feed Elijah, and who clothes the lilies, would find some means to sustain me with needful food and raiment, and I had learned by experience the truth of that saying, ‘Nature is content with few things.’

“Although the sight and smell of hot food was sufficiently enticing to my empty stomach, for I had eaten little that morning and was hungry, yet, considering the terms of the invitation, I questioned whether I was included in it ; and, after some reasonings, at length concluded that, while I had tenpence in my pocket, I should be an injurious intruder to that mess, which was

provided for such as perhaps had not twopence in theirs. Being come to this resolution, I withdrew as far from the table as I could, and sat down in a quiet retirement of mind, till the repast was over ; which was not long, for there were hands enough at it to make light work of it.

“ When evening came, the porter came up the back stairs, and, opening the door, told us, if we desired to have anything that was to be had in the house, he would bring it us ; for there was in the house a chandler’s shop, at which beer, bread, butter, cheese, eggs and bacon might be had for money. Upon which many went to him and spake for what of these things they had a mind to, giving him money to pay for them. Among the rest went I, and, intending to spin out my tenpence as far as I could, desired him to bring me a penny loaf only. When he returned, we all resorted to him to receive our several provisions, which he delivered ; and when he came to me, he told me he could not get a penny loaf, but he had brought me two halfpenny loaves. This suited me better ; wherefore, returning to my place again, I sat down and eat up one of my loaves, reserving the other for the next day. This was to me both dinner and supper ; and so well satisfied I was with it, that I could willingly then have gone to bed, if I had had one to go to ; but that was not to be expected there, nor had any one any bedding brought in that night.

“ After I had warmed myself pretty thoroughly [by walking about the room], and the evening was pretty far spent, I bethought myself of a lodging, and cast mine eye on the table which stood in the bay window, the frame whereof, I thought, looked somewhat like a bedstead. Wherefore, willing to make sure of that, I gathered up a good armful of the rushes wherewith the floor was covered, and spreading them under that table, crept in upon them in my clothes, and keeping on my hat, laid my head upon one end of the table’s frame instead of a bolster. My example was followed

by the rest, who, gathering up rushes as I had done, made themselves beds in other parts of the room ; and so to rest we went.

“Next day, all they who had families, or belonged to families, had bedding brought in, of one sort or other, which they disposed at the ends and sides of the room, leaving the middle void to walk in. But I, who had nobody to look after me, kept to my rushy pallet under the table for four nights together, in which time I did not put off my clothes ; yet, through the merciful goodness of God unto me, I rested and slept well, and enjoyed health, without taking cold.”

Bridewell was a comparatively comfortable prison ; but a little later on, Thomas Ellwood was sent to Newgate with several other Friends, for refusing to swear, and gives us this account of the place : “When we came there, we found that side of the prison very full of Friends, who were prisoners there before, as indeed were, at that time, all the other parts of that prison, and most of the other prisons about the town ; and our addition caused a great throng on that side. Notwithstanding which, we were kindly welcomed by our Friends, whom we found there, and entertained by them, as well as their condition would admit, until we could get in our own accommodations, and provide for ourselves.

“We had the liberty of the hall, which is on the first story over the gate, and which, in the day-time, is common to all the prisoners on that side, felons as well as others, to walk in, and to beg out of ; we had also the liberty of some other rooms over that hall, to walk or work in during the day. But at night we all lodged in one room, which was large and round, having in the middle of it a great pillar of oaken timber, which bore up the chapel that is over it. To this pillar we fastened our hammocks at the one end, and to the opposite wall on the other end, quite round the room, and in three

degrees, or three stories high, one over the other ; so that they who lay in the upper and middle row of hammocks were obliged to go to bed first, because they were to climb up to the higher by getting into the lower. And under the lower rank of hammocks, by the wall sides, were laid beds upon the floor, in which the sick, and such weak persons as could not get into the hammocks lay. And indeed, though the room was large and pretty airy, yet the breath from so many bodies, packed up so close together, was enough to cause sickness amongst us, and I believe did so ; for there were many sick, and some very weak. Though we were not long there, yet in that time one of our fellow-prisoners, who lay in one of those pallet beds, died."

Next follows an interesting story of the holding of the inquest for inquiring into the cause of this man's death. Amongst others the turnkeys laid hold of "an ancient man, a grave citizen, who was trudging through the gate in great haste," and, although he pleaded hard to be excused, they obliged him to serve on the coroner's inquest. The others who had been summoned said, "Come, father, you are the oldest amongst us, you shall be our foreman." And, although he very much disliked having to serve, yet now he was there he was determined to do his duty ; and so, when the prison officers took him and the rest of the jury to look at the dead prisoner's body in a room downstairs, he refused to give any opinion as to the cause of death, unless they were shown the room in which he had died. Thomas Ellwood continues : "By this time it was grown bedtime with us, so that we had taken down our hammocks, which during the day were hung up by the walls, and had made them ready to go into, and were undressing ourselves in readiness to go into them. When, on a sudden, we heard a great noise of tongues and of tramping of feet coming up towards us, and by-and-by one of the turnkeys, opening our door, said, 'Hold, hold !

do not undress yourselves, here is the coroner's inquest coming to see you.'

"As soon as they were come to the door, for within the door there was scarce room for them to come, the foreman, who led them, lifting up his hand, said, 'Lord bless me, what a sight is here! I did not think there had been so much cruelty in the hearts of Englishmen, to use Englishmen in this manner! We need not now question,' said he to the rest of the jury, 'how this man came by his death; we may rather wonder that they are not all dead, for this place is enough to breed an infection among them. Well, if it please God to lengthen my life till to-morrow, I will find means to let the King know how his subjects are dealt with.'

"Whether he did so or not," says Thomas Ellwood, "I cannot tell," but the next day one of the sheriffs came to the press-yard and "spake courteously" to the Quaker prisoners, saying he wished he could set them all at liberty, but as that was not in his power, he would at least do what he could, and therefore he ordered all those who had been in Bridewell before to go back there, and left the porter of Bridewell to attend them. "This," he said "will be a better accommodation for you, and your removal will give the more room to those that are left behind."

As soon as the sheriff had left, the porter came up to the prisoners, and said that, as they knew their way to Bridewell without him, and he could trust them, he should not wait, but would leave them to take their own time, so that they were in before bed-time.

About the middle of the afternoon, therefore, when the streets were full of people, and the shopkeepers standing at their doors, a remarkable procession was to be seen of thirty-two prisoners, walking two-and-two abreast, with their bundles of clothing on their shoulders, through the Old Bailey into Fleet Street, and so to Bridewell. Several people stopped them to ask who

they were, and where they were going, and when they heard that they were prisoners going from Newgate to Bridewell, exclaimed in astonishment, "What! without a keeper?" "No," replied the Friends, "for our word, which we have given, is our keeper."

Arrived at Bridewell, they were put into a "low room in a fair court, which had a pump in the middle of it." "And here," says Ellwood, "we had the liberty of the court to walk in, and of the pump to wash or drink at. And indeed we might easily have gone quite away if we would, there being a passage through the court into the street; but we were true and steady prisoners, and looked upon this liberty, arising from their confidence in us, to be a kind of parole upon us; so that both conscience and honour stood now engaged for our true imprisonment."

These stories of prison life, and of the freedom generally allowed to prisoners, make it easy for us to understand how Friends in prison could still find many ways of giving their message to the world. Sometimes their fellow-prisoners were convinced by the power of their blameless lives; sometimes they preached from their prison windows to the passers-by, or, as in the case of James Parnell, their message came home to some who visited them from sympathy or curiosity. Often they spent their time in writing letters or pamphlets, which their friends circulated for them. Indeed, many of the writings of George Fox, Francis Howgill, William Dewsbury, William Ames, William Penn and others were written in prison; and their words reached men's hearts, because they were the words of those who believed what they wrote, and who had proved their sincerity by suffering.

Thus the spread of Truth was not hindered, but rather helped by all the persecution; and the steadfastness and patience of the sufferers led many to inquire more carefully into their faith and way of worship.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BOSTON MARTYRS.

IT was not only in England that Friends were persecuted. Across the sea in the Colonies of New England, even greater cruelties were practised, and that by the descendants of Puritans, who had themselves fled thither from persecution ; but in spite of this many Friends felt called to give their message there.

The first to go were Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, who arrived at Boston in July, 1656. Before they landed, the Deputy-Governor sent to the ship, and took away about a hundred books which they had brought with them, and gave orders that the books should be burnt in the market-place, and the women kept prisoners. They were detained for some time on board ship, and afterwards for five weeks in prison. During this time their window was boarded up, so that no one might even speak to them, and they were refused light or food, and would probably have died, had not a good man, named Nicholas Upshal, who was a Church member, taken pity upon them, and paid the jailer to give them some food. Then they were sent back to England, the master of the vessel being under strict orders to let no one speak to them on the way.

Eight other Friends arrived a few weeks later, and were treated in the same way ; and a law was passed forbidding all masters of ships to bring any Quakers to New England, and, when Nicholas Upshal ventured to remonstrate, he was fined £23, and afterwards banished by the cruel Governor Endicott.

Travelling to Rhode Island, Upshal met an Indian chief, who, on hearing his story, said that, if he would live with him, he would make him "a warm house," and added, "What a God have the English, who deal so with one another about their God!"

Six of these banished Quakers, together with five others, who felt the same call, soon believed it right to go again to New England, "being firmly persuaded that the Lord had called them to bear testimony to His truth in these parts, and having a full assurance of faith, that He would support them through whatsoever exercises He should be pleased to suffer them to be tried with." Such severe penalties had, however, been imposed on the master of any ship who should land Quakers on the shores of New England, that no one could be found willing to take them.

Just at this time, a Friend named Robert Fowler, who lived at Bridlington in Yorkshire, and who was a seaman, had finished the building of a small vessel; and it was impressed upon his mind that he was to devote it in some way to helping forward the cause of Truth. He took his ship to London, and there consulted Gerrard Roberts, who was one of the most active Friends in making arrangements for travelling ministers, and who at once felt sure that this ship was the Lord's appointed way for the eleven Friends to get to New England. The ship was therefore engaged, although apparently much too small to venture across the Atlantic.

Robert Fowler's own account of this voyage is printed in Bowden's "History of Friends in America," where it is entitled "A true relation of the voyage undertaken by me, Robert Fowler, with my small vessel called the 'Woodhouse,' but performed by the Lord, like as he did Noah's Ark, wherein he shut up a few righteous persons and landed them safe, even at the Hill Ararat." This interesting account tells us how they were brought

safely through many dangers, such as meeting with hostile men-of-war and great storms; and how they met together every day to wait upon the Lord for guidance, and steered as they believed that he directed, and finally touched land (a part of Long Island) at just the place which some of the Friends had felt called to visit, and which it would have been otherwise very difficult to reach. When they had been five weeks at sea, and seemed one day in great danger, Robert Fowler relates that "Humphrey Norton, falling into communion with God, told me that he had received a comfortable answer; and also that about such a day we should land in America, which was even so fulfilled." And he adds, "Also, thus it was all the voyage with the faithful, who were carried far above storms and tempests, that, when the ship went either to the right hand or to the left, their hands joined all as one, and did direct her way; so that we have seen and said, we see the Lord leading our vessel as it were a man leading a horse by the head; we regarding neither latitude nor longitude, but kept to our Line, which was, and is, our Leader, Guide and Rule."

After a voyage of two months they landed on the last day of July, 1657, and put five Friends safely ashore into "the Dutch plantation called New Amsterdam" (the present New York), and the rest went forward to Rhode Island, and some of them afterwards to New England.

The next year, one of these Friends, Mary Clark, came to Boston to warn the persecutors to leave off their cruelties, but she was punished with twenty stripes on her naked back from a whip with three cords, and was imprisoned for twelve weeks in the winter. "The cords of these whips," Sewel tells us, "were as thick as a man's little finger, having each some knots at the end, and the stick was sometimes so long that the hangman made use of both his hands to strike the

harder." After this we read of a long list of cruel persecutions carried on by Governor Endicott's orders. Weak women and old men were kept without food or fires, beaten and abused; some had their ears cut off, and others their tongues bored with hot irons. Even this did not satisfy the persecutors, and in October, 1658, an act was passed against "a pernicious sect (commonly called Quakers)," giving power to any constable to take up and imprison any persons suspected of being Quakers, and condemning them, if the charge proved true, to banishment on pain of death.

Many of these brave men and women, however, still continued to come, believing they had a message to deliver. In 1659, William Robinson, one of those who had crossed in the "Woodhouse," and Marmaduke Stephenson and Mary Dyer were imprisoned and banished under this law, and, because they could not feel it right to leave the country, they were condemned to death.

William Robinson wrote a paper, which he asked leave to read in court, explaining why they had come. He was not allowed to read it, but a copy of it has been preserved, and in it he relates that one afternoon, when he was travelling in Rhode Island, the word of the Lord came expressly to him, filling him with life and power and heavenly love, and commanding him to go to the town of Boston to lay down his life there for the accomplishing of the Lord's service. "To this heavenly voice," he says, "I presently [*i.e.*, at once] yielded obedience, not questioning the Lord how He would bring the thing to pass, seeing I was a child, and obedience was demanded of me by the Lord, who filled me with living strength and power, and my life did say Amen to what the Lord required of me." "And herein I rejoice that the Lord is with me, so that I can say in truth, 'Blessed be the Lord God of my life, who hath counted me worthy, and called me hereunto.'"

Marmaduke Stephenson, who had left a dearly loved wife and children in England, told the people how the Lord had called him to the same service, and warned the magistrates against shedding innocent blood; and Mary Dyer replied to her sentence, "The will of the Lord be done."

When they were led out to execution, two hundred armed men, besides some horsemen, guarded them, as if they were afraid they might be rescued by the people; and drums were beaten so that no one should hear them speak. The three walked hand in hand, and we are told that glorious signs of heavenly joy and gladness were on their countenances. Mary Dyer said to one near her, "This is to me an hour of the greatest joy I ever had in this world. No ear can hear, no tongue can utter, and no heart can understand the sweet incomes and the refreshings of the Spirit of the Lord, which now I feel."

And thus they passed on joyfully, and the two young men died with praises on their lips; but just as Mary Dyer was about to follow them, she having already mounted the ladder, and the halter having been placed round her neck, a cry was heard, "Stop! she is reprieved." She, whose mind was already as it were in heaven, stood still, hardly understanding what had happened; but they pulled her down and sent her back to prison, for her son, who was not a Friend, and had some influence, had interceded for her.

The next year, however, she came again to Boston to preach, and, in spite of a touching appeal from her husband, who was a leading man in Rhode Island, she was put to death, speaking to those about her of the eternal happiness into which she was now to enter, and saying to one who scoffed, "Yea, I have been in Paradise these several days." She also prayed God to forgive her executioners.

In 1659, a further law was passed that "all children and servants, and others that for conscience sake cannot come to their meetings [*i.e.*, the recognised church services] to worship, and have not estates in their hand to answer the fines, must be sold for slaves to Barbadoes or Virginia, or other remote parts." Amongst others, this law was put in force upon a young boy and girl who lived at Salem, and whose parents, Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, had been heavily fined for showing kindness to some of the despised Quakers. These children resolved that they would no longer attend the services of a Church, which could do such cruel things, and an order was made out to sell them into slavery. No captain could be found, however, cruel enough to take them.

Whittier has written a beautiful poem about this, and although, when we compare the poem with the account given us by our historian Sewel, we find that Whittier, in several of the details of the story, has availed himself of a poet's liberty to arrange his facts in a picturesque manner, yet it brings the scene very vividly before us, and helps us to realise what this cruel punishment of slavery must have meant to many.

THE BALLAD OF CASSANDRA SOUTHWICK.

I.

To the God of all sure mercies let my blessing rise to-day,
From the scoffer and the cruel He hath plucked the spoil
away,—

Yea, He who cooled the furnace around the faithful three,
And tamed the Chaldæan lions, hath set His handmaid
free!

II.

Last night I saw the sunset melt through my prison bars,
Last night across my damp earth-floor fell the pale gleam
of stars;

In the coldness and the darkness all through the long
night-time,
My grated casement whitened with autumn's early rime.

III.

Alone, in that dark sorrow, hour after hour crept by ;
Star after star looked palely in and sank adown the sky ;
No sound amid night's stillness, save that which seemed
to be
The dull and heavy beating of the pulses of the sea.

IV.

All night I sat unsleeping, for I knew that on the morrow
The ruler and the cruel priest would mock me in my sorrow,
Dragged to their place of market and bargained for and
sold,
Like a lamb before the shambles, like a heifer from the
fold !

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XV.

Slow broke the gray, cold morning ; again the sunshine
fell,
Flecked with the shade of bar and grate within my lonely
cell ;
The hoar-frost melted on the wall, and upward from the
street
Came careless laugh and idle word, and tread of passing
feet.

XVI.

At length the heavy bolts fell back, my door was open cast,
And slowly at the sheriff's side, up the long street I passed ;
I heard the murmur round me, and felt, but dared not see,
How, from every door and window, the people gazed on me.

XVII.

And doubt and fear fell on me, shame burned upon my
cheek,
Swam earth and sky around me, my trembling limbs grew
weak ;

"Oh, Lord! support Thy handmaid, and from her soul
cast out
The fear of man, which brings a snare, the weakness and
the doubt."

XVIII.

Then the dreary shadows scattered like a cloud in morning's
breeze,
And a low deep voice within me seemed whispering words
like these:
"Though thy earth be as the iron, and thy heaven a
brazen wall,
Trust still His loving kindness, whose power is over all."

XIX.

We paused at length, where at my feet the sunlit waters
broke
On glaring reach of shining beach, and shingly wall of
rock;
The merchant-ships lay idly there, in hard clear lines on
high,
Tracing with rope and slender spar their network on the
sky.

XX.

And there were ancient citizens cloak-wrapped and grave
and cold,
And grim and stout sea captains, with faces bronzed and
old;
And on his horse, with Rawson, his cruel clerk at hand,
Sat dark and haughty Endicott, the ruler of the land.

* * * *

XXIV.

But gray heads shook, and young brows knit, the while the
sheriff read
That law the wicked rulers against the poor have made,
Who to their house of Rimmon and idol priesthood bring
No bended knee of worship, nor gainful offering.

XXV.

Then to the stout sea captains, the sheriff turning, said,
"Which of ye, worthy seamen, will take this Quaker maid?
In the Isle of fair Barbadoes, or on Virginia's shore,
You may hold her at a higher price than Indian girl or
Moor."

XXVI.

Grim and silent stood the captains; and when again he
cried,
"Speak out, my worthy seamen!"—no voice, no sign
replied;
But I felt a hard hand press my own, and kind words met
my ear,
"God bless thee, and preserve thee, my gentle girl and
dear!"

XXVII.

A weight seemed lifted from my heart, a pitying friend was
nigh,
I felt it in his hard, rough hand, and saw it in his eye:
And when again the sheriff spoke, that voice, so kind to
me,
Growled back its stormy answer like the roaring of the sea,—

XXVIII.

"Pile my ship with bars of silver, pack with coins of
Spanish gold,
From keel-piece up to deck-plank, the roomage of her
hold,
By the living God who made me!—I would sooner in your
bay
Sink ship and crew and cargo, than bear this child away!"

XXIX.

"Well answered, worthy captain; shame on their cruel
laws!"
Ran through the crowd in murmurs loud the people's just
applause;
"Like the herdsman of Tekoa, in Israel of old,
Shall we see the poor and righteous again for silver sold?"

xxx.

I looked on haughty Endicott ; with weapon half-way drawn,
Swept round the throng his lion glare of bitter hate and scorn ;
Fiercely he drew his bridle rein, and turned in silence back,
And sneering priest and baffled clerk rode murmuring in his track.

xxxI.

Hard after them the sheriff looked, in bitterness of soul ;
Thrice smote his staff upon the ground, and crushed his parchment roll.
" Good friends," he said, " since both have fled, the ruler and the priest,
Judge ye, if from their further work I be not well released ? "

xxxII.

Loud was the cheer which, full and clear, swept round the silent bay,
As, with kind words and kinder looks, he bade me go my way ;
For He who turns the courses of the streamlet of the glen,
And the river of great waters, had turned the hearts of men.

xxxIII.

Oh, at that hour the very earth seemed changed beneath my eye,
A holier wonder round me rose the blue walls of the sky,
A lovelier light on rock and hill and stream and woodland lay,
And softer lapsed on sunnier sands the waters of the bay.

xxxIV.

Thanksgiving to the Lord of life ! to Him all praises be,
Who from the hands of evil men hath set His handmaid free ;
All praise to Him before whose power the mighty are afraid,
Who takes the crafty in the snare which for the poor is laid !

XXXV.

Sing, O my soul, rejoicingly, on evening's twilight calm
Uplift the loud thanksgiving, pour forth the grateful
psalm ;

Let all dear hearts with me rejoice, as did the saints of old,
When of the Lord's good angel the rescued Peter told.

* * * *

XXXVII.

But let the humble ones arise, the poor in heart be glad,
And let the mourning ones again with robes of praise be
clad.

For He who cooled the furnace, and smoothed the stormy
wave,

And tamed the Chaldæan lions, is mighty still to save !

CHAPTER VIII.

HOLDING MEETINGS UNDER DIFFICULTIES.

PERSECUTIONS continued all through the Commonwealth period, but when Charles II. was restored to the throne in 1660, great hopes were raised of better times, because, in his proclamation from Breda, he had promised liberty of conscience. Several of the leading Friends, therefore, made a fresh effort to gain freedom for those who were imprisoned.

Richard Hubberthorne was admitted to see the King, and had a long talk with him about Friends' belief in the Light of Christ in the heart, and why they will not pay tithes, or swear, or take the so-called sacraments. Charles listened very attentively, and asked a great many questions, and promised that no Friends should suffer for their religion. Some Friends were also allowed to speak before the House of Lords, and Margaret Fell came up to London and pleaded with the King for the prisoners, and about 700 were set at liberty. Moreover an order was drawn up for permitting the Quakers to worship freely, and it only wanted the King's signature and seal. But those who had helped to set Charles on the throne were not inclined to favour the Nonconformists, and a sudden rising of Fifth Monarchy Men* in London soon served as an excuse for the renewal of persecution. Although the Friends

* The Fifth Monarchy Men were zealots, who desired the Fifth Monarchy, the reign of Christ and His saints, which, according to their reading of prophecy, was to succeed the four monarchies of the ancient world.

had nothing whatever to do with this rising, a great many of them were falsely suspected, and several thousands were thrown into prison, where they were so crowded that many fell sick and died.

Thomas Ellwood gives a lively description of a meeting held at Isaac Penington's in this year (1661):—

“The meeting,” he says, “was scarce fully gathered when they [the soldiers] came. But we that were in the family, and many others, were settled in it in great peace and stillness, when, on a sudden, the prancing of the horses gave notice that a disturbance was at hand. We all sat still in our places, except my companion John Ovy [an enquirer, but not yet a fully convinced Friend], who sat next to me. But he, being of a profession that approved Peter's advice to his Lord to save Himself, soon took the alarm, and with the nimbleness of a strippling, cutting a caper over the form that stood before him, ran quickly out at a private door, leading through the parlour into the gardens, and from thence into an orchard; where he hid himself in a place so obscure, and withal so convenient for his intelligence by observation of what passed, that no one of the family could scarce have found a likelier.”

Then the soldiers broke in and took eight or nine Friends, the officer remarking that “he must take some,” but evidently not liking his job.

These nine were carried before the nearest Justice of the Peace, four miles off at Denham, who received them civilly, and Isaac Penington courteously, as a gentleman of his neighbourhood. The only charge was that they had met together without word or deed; but this being contrary to the proclamation given forth upon the rising of the Fifth Monarchy Men, the Justice was obliged to take notice of it.

So he asked their names and habitations, and was amazed to find from what different parts of the nation they had come. For George Whitehead was from West-

morland, Thomas Ellwood from Oxfordshire, William Penington from London, and another Friend from Colchester.

This, he said, looked very bad, and much like conspiracy, but in the end, after much talk, he being evidently very unwilling to commit them, dismissed all except George Whitehead and Thomas Ellwood, who were allowed to return with the rest, on promising to be forthcoming at Isaac Penington's house on the following morning.

"Back then," says Thomas Ellwood, "we went to Isaac Penington's. But when we were come thither, O the work we had with poor John Ovy! He was so covered with shame and confusion of face for his cowardliness, that we had enough to do to pacify him towards himself." When the soldiers were gone, he had ventured to peep out of his hiding-place, and, finding things quiet, had returned to the house, where he found the Friends who were left behind peaceably settled in meeting again. He sat down with them, but was deeply smitten with the sense of their bravery and his own cowardice.

Very few who were taken got off as easily as these Friends seem to have done, and the sufferings of Friends were so severe that Margaret Fell again interceded with the King, and George Fox published a declaration of their innocence, which was presented to the King and Council. Soon afterwards, many of the Fifth Monarchy Men themselves, on their examination, said that the Quakers had nothing to do with that plot, and thus they were set at liberty, and for a short time treated with great leniency.

During this quiet interval, their thoughts turned to their Friends across the water, who were still suffering cruel persecution. Governor Endicott, and the Puritans who supported him, seemed determined to root Quakerism out of New England, and were now busy carrying out the laws they had made for hanging or

banishing all who refused to yield. In 1661, William Leddra was hanged, and several Friends were in prison awaiting their sentence, when Edward Burrough and some others, believing that Charles himself was no persecutor, asked him to interfere. The King at once promised to stop the persecution, and wrote an order to that effect to the Governor. As there was no ship sailing at that time, the Friends chartered one on purpose, and Samuel Shattuck, a Quaker who had been banished from New England on pain of death, was appointed by the King as his deputy to carry the order. The master of the ship was also a Friend, and with a prosperous gale they reached Boston in about six weeks' time, on the first day of the week.

Their arrival is thus described by Whittier in a poem alluded

THE KING'S MISSIVE.

Under the great hill sloping bare
To cove and meadow and Common lot,
In his council chamber and oaken chair,
Sat the worshipful Governor Endicott.
A grave, strong man, who knew no peer
In the pilgrim land, where he ruled in fear
Of God, not man, and for good or ill
Held his trust with an iron will.

He had shorn with his sword the cross from out
The flag, and cloven the Maypole down,
Harried the heathen round about,
And whipped the Quakers from town to town.
Earnest and honest, a man at need
To burn like a torch for his own harsh creed,
He kept with the flaming brand of his zeal
The gate of the holy common weal.

His brow was clouded, his eye was stern
With a look of mingled sorrow and wrath.
"Woe's me!" he murmured; "at every turn
The pestilent Quakers are in my path!"

Some we have scourged, and banished some,
Some hanged, more doomed, and still they come,
Fast as the tide of yon bay sets in,
Sowing their heresy's seed of sin.

"Did we count on this? Did we leave behind
The graves of our kin, the comfort and ease
Of our English hearths and homes to find
Troublers of Israel such as these?
Shall I spare? Shall I pity them? God forbid!
I will do as the prophet to Agag did:
They come to poison the wells of the Word,
I will hew them in pieces before the Lord!"

The door swung open, and Rawson the clerk
Entered, and whispered under breath,
"There waits below for the hangman's work
A fellow banished on pain of death—
Shattuck, of Salem, unhealed of the whip,
Brought over in Master Goldsmith's ship,
At anchor here in a Christian port,
With freight of the devil and all his sort!"

Twice and thrice on the chamber floor
Striding fiercely from wall to wall,
"The Lord do so to me and more,"
The Governor cried, "if I hang not all!
Bring hither the Quaker." Calm, sedate,
With the look of a man at ease with fate,
Into that presence grim and dread
Came Samuel Shattuck, with hat on head.

"Off with the knave's hat!" An angry hand
Smote down the offence; but the wearer said,
With a quiet smile, "By the King's command
I bear his message and stand in his stead."
In the Governor's hand a missive he laid
With the royal arms on its seal displayed,
And the proud man spake at he gazed thereat,
Uncovering, "Give Mr. Shattuck his hat."

He turned to the Quaker, bowing low—

“The King commandeth your friends’ release ;
Doubt not he shall be obeyed, although

To his subjects’ sorrow and sin’s increase.

What he here enjoineth, John Endicott,

His loyal servant, questioneth not.

You are free ! God grant the spirit you own

May take you from us to parts unknown.”

* * * *

This incident shows us that Charles himself wished for toleration. Nevertheless, in 1662, a special Act was passed against Quakers, forbidding five or more to meet for worship, and imposing a fine of £5 for the first offence, £10 for the second, and banishment to the plantations for the third.

It has been reckoned that, in these first few years after the Restoration, as many Friends were imprisoned as during the whole ten years of the Commonwealth.

Early on in this persecution, Richard Hubberthorne and Edward Burrough were seized whilst attending meeting at the “Bull and Mouth,” London, and were sent to Newgate. The prison was very crowded, and Richard Hubberthorne was soon taken ill, and died after two months’ imprisonment. He and Edward Burrough had chosen to share a small pallet bed in a very close cell, so as to be near their poorer Friends and help to comfort and strengthen them.

Edward Burrough, with Francis Howgill, had taken the chief part in publishing the Quaker message in London in 1654, and in Ireland a year or two later ; and, though only twenty-seven years of age, he was one of the foremost leaders amongst Friends. Thomas Ellwood calls him “a bright young man of a ready tongue.”

He had been convinced by George Fox’s ministry in Westmorland when only seventeen, and had soon become very earnest in spreading the truth.

An interesting story is told in connection with his early work in London. It was the custom at that time for the London tradesmen, when their work was over, to meet in the summer evenings in the fields outside the city, and amuse themselves by wrestling, many people looking on at the sport. One evening, Edward Burrough, passing by one of these places, saw one strong man who had already thrown three others, stand waiting for a fourth to enter the lists against him. No one could be found bold enough to try, when, to the surprise of all present, Edward Burrough stepped into the ring, and looking gravely at the wrestler began to speak to him and to the bystanders very seriously, and with such heart-searching power, that they all heard him attentively, while he pleaded with them to give their hearts to God ; and some, we are told, were convinced of the truth.

The City of London was so dear to his heart that he often said to his friend Francis Howgill, "I can freely go to the City of London and lay down my life there for a testimony to the truth." After being seized at the meeting, he lay in prison for several months with about 130 others, who were there for the same reason. The overcrowding of the jail caused a great deal of sickness amongst them, and Edward Burrough was one of those who died. During his illness he was very fervent in prayer "as well for his Friends as for himself," and also "for his enemies and persecutors."

The Quaker Act of 1662 was followed, in July, 1664, by the Conventicle Act, which imposed similar penalties on all Nonconformists, and the passing of which was the signal for a fresh and violent outburst of persecution all over the country.

On the 6th January, 1665, ninety-nine Friends were in Newgate under sentence of transportation, and, before the end of March, 250 more were imprisoned in London alone, most of them in Newgate ; and we must remember that the same kind of thing was taking place all over the

country. Twenty-nine persons were sentenced to transportation from the little town of Hertford, eight of them for having been present at a silent meeting.

On one Sunday, 232 Friends were taken from the London meetings and sent to Newgate, and one consequence of this was that we read about this time that Newgate "from a den of thieves was now become a house of prayer," for "they frequently met together there to wait upon God and worship Him."

The Quakers were not the only body of Christians, who were anxious for religious liberty and willing to suffer for it, but they seem to have borne the brunt of the conflict. Most of the Presbyterian, and many of the Baptist and Independent ministers tried to carry on their worship, and at the same time conform to the law, by arranging for meetings in private houses, with never more than four persons present besides the family. But the Friends felt it cowardly and disloyal to God and their conscience to give up their public meetings.

The Mayor of Bristol, who was also a Member of Parliament, had been very active in promoting the Conventicle Act, and is said to have wept for joy at its passing. He at once began to put it into effect, and, in the remaining three months of his office as Mayor, he imprisoned 347 Quakers, some of whom would have been banished, if the seamen had not refused to take them.

In the following year, 1665, the plague broke out in London, and George Whitehead felt called by the Lord to work there, and took up his abode at a tobacconist's in Watling Street. Here he lived all through that terrible time of sickness and death, visiting those who were stricken in their own homes and in the prisons, for many were crowded into Newgate and died there of the plague. The persecutors raised a cry that the only means to stop the pestilence was to send the Quakers out of the land, and numbers were sentenced to banishment. It was difficult, however, to get the masters of the

ships to take them, and one ship with fifty-four Friends on board lay in the Thames for six months waiting to sail. Twenty-seven of the Friends died during this time, and, when at last the ship sailed, she was taken by a Dutch privateer off the Land's End, and all were carried to Holland, and finally the Friends were set at liberty. George Whitehead visited these and other prisoners under sentence of banishment, not sparing himself, wherever he thought he could help and comfort others.

Besides the Conventicle Act, the magistrates searched out several old laws of Elizabeth and James the First's time, which had been made against the Roman Catholics, and used them against the Quakers. The most unjust of these was an Act of 1605, by which anyone refusing to take the oath of allegiance might be outlawed and imprisoned with loss of all his goods. This, which was called a sentence of "praemunire," was passed against a great many Friends.

Altogether, between the years 1661 and 1689, about 12,000 Friends suffered imprisonment, and more than 300 died in prison or as a result of cruel treatment. Besides this, many were sentenced to transportation, others lost all their property, and almost all had goods taken from them for tithes and church rates, which they could not feel it right to pay. When the Conventicle Act was passed, George Fox realised that this was a crisis in the history of Friends, and indeed in the history of religious freedom for the whole nation. He wrote to his followers, "Now is the time for you to stand, you that have been public men [that is ministers], and formerly did travel abroad; mind and keep up your testimony, go into your meeting-houses as at other times."

All over the country, Friends made a firm stand for liberty to worship God, and behaved so bravely that they won the admiration even of many who did not sympathise with them. Thus Bishop Burnet, in his "History of my own Times," says: "The Quakers

. . . . met at the same place and at the same hour as before. And when they were seized, none of them would get out of the way. They went all together to prison ; they stayed there till they were dismissed, for they would not petition to be set at liberty, nor would they pay their fines set on them, nor so much as the jail fees, calling these ‘wages of unrighteousness.’ And as soon as they were let out, they went to their meeting-houses again ; and when they found these were shut up by order, they held their meetings in the streets, before the doors of those houses. They said they would not disown or be ashamed of their meeting together to worship God ; but in imitation of Daniel they would do it the more publicly, because they were forbidden the doing it. Some called this obstinacy, while others called it firmness ; but by it they carried their point, for the Government grew weary of dealing with so much perverseness, and so began to let them alone.”

Professor Masson in his life of John Milton has also an interesting passage on this subject. He says : “No denomination so amazed and perplexed the authorities by their obstinacy as the Quakers. It was their boast that their worship from its very nature could not be stopped ‘by men or devils.’ From a meeting of Roman Catholics, they said, you have but to take away the mass book, or the chalice, or the priest’s garments, or even but to spill the water and blow out the candles, and the meeting is over. So, in a meeting of Lutherans or Episcopalians, or in a meeting of Presbyterians, or Independents, or Baptists, or Socinians, there is always some implement or set of implements upon which all depends, be it in the liturgy, the gown or surplice, the Bible, or the hour-glass ; remove these and make noise enough, and there can be no service. Not so with a Quaker meeting. There, men and women worship with their hearts without implements, in silence as well as by speech. You may break in upon them,

hoot at them, roar at them, drag them about ; the meeting, if it is of any size, essentially still goes on, till all the component individuals are murdered. Throw them out of the doors in twos or threes, and they but re-enter at the window and quietly resume their places. Pull their meeting-house down, and they re-assemble next day most punctually amid the broken walls and rafters. Shovel sand or earth down upon them, and there they still sit, a sight to see, musing immovably among the rubbish. This is no description from fancy ; it was the actual practice of the Quakers all over the country. They held their meetings regularly, perseveringly, and without the least concealment, keeping the doors of their meeting-houses purposely open, that all might enter, informers, constables or soldiers, and do whatever they chose. In fact, the Quakers behaved magnificently. By their peculiar method of open violation of the law and passive resistance only, they rendered a service to the common cause of all the Nonconformist sects, which has never been sufficiently acknowledged. The authorities had begun to fear them as a kind of supernatural folk, and knew not what to do with them but cram them into jails and let them lie there. Indeed, the jails in those days were less places of punishment for criminals than receptacles for a great proportion of what was bravest and most excellent in the manhood and womanhood of England."

We have abundant evidence in Sewel's "History," Besse's "Sufferings," and the lives of many of the early Friends, that this is a true picture of what took place all over England during the years 1664-1687.

Friends at Bristol, in 1660, when threatened with imprisonment if they persisted in holding their meetings, had told the magistrates, "that they might as well think to hinder the sun from shining, or the tide from flowing, as to think to hinder the Lord's people from meeting to wait upon Him, whilst but two of them

were left together," and they seem to have literally lived up to this resolve.

Not only did the grown-up people show this firmness and courage, but at Bristol, and also at Reading and Cambridge, we read that, when all the men and women were in prison, the children still continued to meet for worship.

A letter to George Fox from Reading, dated November 15th, 1664, says: "Our little children kept the meeting up when we were all in prison, notwithstanding the wicked justice, when he came and found them there, beat them with a staff that he had, with a spear in it, would pull them out of the meeting, and punch them in the back, till some of them were black in the face. I cannot much enlarge; his fellow, I believe, is not to be found in England [as] a Justice of the Peace."

Again we read that at Bristol, in 1682, "On the 7th of the month called July, they dispersed the meeting, which then consisted chiefly of children, for, the men and women being generally in prison, the children kept up their meetings regularly, and with a remarkable gravity and composure. It was surprising to see the manly courage and constancy, with which some of the boys behaved on this occasion, keeping close to meetings in the absence of their parents, and undergoing on that account many abuses with patience.

"On the 16th, Tilly caused five of the boys to be set in the stocks three quarters of an hour. On the 23rd, eight of the boys were put in the stocks two hours and a half. On the 30th, about fifty-five [children] were at the meeting, when Helliard, with a twisted whalebone stick, beat many of them unmercifully, striking them violent blows on their heads, necks and faces, few of them escaping without some marks of his fury.

"On the 3rd of the month called August, Tilly, with a small faggot stick, beat many of the children, but they bore it patiently and cheerfully. On the 6th, he beat

some of them with a whalebone stick, and sent four boys to Bridewell, who were released in the evening with threats of whipping if they met together again. He also sent eleven boys and four girls to Bridewell, till a Friend engaged for their appearance next day before the Deputy Mayor, who endeavoured both by persuasions and threats to make them promise to come at no more meetings; but the children in that respect were unmoveable. Wherefore they were sent to Bridewell again, Helliard, to terrify them, charging the keeper to provide a new cat of nine-tails against next morning. . The boys and girls were mostly from ten to twelve years of age."

The mayor and magistrates of Bristol seem to have been very violent persecutors, for, in 1683, we find an account of the sufferings of Richard Vickris, almost equal to Governor Endicott's cruelties. Vickris was sentenced, under an old Statute of Queen Elizabeth's time, to "conform or abjure the realm in three months, or suffer death as a felon without benefit of clergy." As he would not swear, this was really a sentence of death, and is the only instance of that sentence being passed on a Quaker in England. He was, however, afterwards set free through the influence of the Duke of York.

Altogether there were about 150 Friends now in prison at Bristol, where they remained under a very cruel jailer, till the issue of the Declaration of Indulgence by James II. in 1687. Each year, when the time came round for the holding of the Yearly Meeting, they wrote a letter, full of praise and thanksgiving, and sent it to their Friends in London.

In 1689, soon after the accession of William and Mary, the Toleration Act was passed, which granted liberty of worship to all Protestants, and from this time the Quakers and other Nonconformists were free from violent persecution, and able to attend their meetings without fear of disturbance.

CHAPTER IX.

OUR WORSHIP, BAPTISM AND COMMUNION.

THE constancy of both old and young through all these persecutions, and the cheerfulness with which they were willing to suffer rather than give up their meetings, convinces us that their meetings for worship were very precious to them; and leads us to consider what it was that they so valued, and how far we, who enjoy the liberty of attending our meetings freely, prize this privilege which has been obtained for us through so much suffering.

Strangers coming to our meetings often ask, "Why do you sit in silence? Why do you have no singing and no prearranged service? and why is there no minister to conduct the service?" To us this is all so natural that perhaps we do not often think what it means; *viz.*, freedom from priestcraft and ritual—freedom for each soul to "worship in spirit and in truth," and a very real belief in the words of Christ, "Where two or three are gathered together in My name, *there am I* in the midst of them." Believing that He, our Lord and Master, is really present with us by His Spirit, we want Him to take His place as Head of His Church, and we will have no prearrangement which might interfere with His wishes or hinder them from being carried out.

In silence we can bow reverently before Him, listening to His voice, and speaking in our hearts to Him who knows our inmost thoughts, and who can speak to us, each one according to our need. Then, as His Spirit brings us into fellowship one with another, and nearness

to Him who knows and loves us all, He can, in our meetings, make us helpers one of another, sometimes in silence by sympathy and prayer, sometimes by a message which, spoken under His direction, will come home to other hearts. None are to be shut out from the privilege of sharing in this ministry, and *all* should feel that they have something to do, not only in worshipping themselves, but in helping others who are there. The silence does not mean that we have no use for words in our worship, but that we do not think them necessary. We believe that a meeting may sometimes be rightly held entirely in silence, and that all present may be helped and strengthened; but we also believe that if, in such a meeting, each one is willing and obedient, words will often be called for, words of praise or prayer, or a message for the encouragement or reproof or comfort of some who are present. Anyone, old or young, man or woman, learned or unlearned may, by the touch of the Lord's Spirit, be bidden to speak; without this call, none should venture to break the silence, but anyone who refuses to obey such a call is hindering God's purpose in that meeting.

But some may say, "Friends *do* have ministers, and they sit in the gallery, and of course they are the ones who most often speak in meeting." That is very true, but our ministers are simply "recorded," not "ordained" by their fellow men.

This means that, when anyone is often called upon by God to speak in meeting, and his life and ministry show that this is done under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, Friends "acknowledge" that they believe such a person has received a gift of public ministry or preaching from the Lord, and this fact is "recorded" in a minute of his Monthly Meeting. Such a minute does not give any official position to the minister. He receives no salary, and is still only a member of the congregation; but, if he travels about, it is useful, in the places where he

is not personally known, as a guarantee that his ministry has the approval of his Friends at home who know him well.

Ministers usually sit in the gallery, because it is much easier, both for those who speak and for those who listen, to see one another's faces, and it is easier to be heard by the whole meeting from that position. But there is no fixed rule about it; and there is certainly no rule that ministers should feel they ought to speak any more than any other members of the congregation, unless they feel moved to do so at the time by the Spirit of God. Because many people will persist in expecting ministers to speak and waiting to hear them, instead of listening themselves to God's voice, and taking their own share in the worship of the meeting, some Friends have thought that it is a mistake to "record" ministers, and that we had better do away with the galleries in our meeting-houses. Perhaps in the future, meeting-houses may be so arranged as to make this more possible, while at the same time ensuring that those who often speak can sit where they will be readily heard.

Friends do not, as is often supposed, object to singing as such. The Bible, and especially the Book of Psalms, is so full of commands to praise the Lord with song and music, that we cannot doubt that this is a natural expression of our thanks for life and happiness, and is pleasing to God. A minute of the Yearly Meeting of 1675 bids Friends not to quench or discourage "reverent singing, breathing forth an heavenly sound of joy with grace, with the spirit and with understanding. . . . to edification and comfort in the Church of Christ."

It is singing as part of a prearranged service to which we object. Praise, whether expressed by an individual or a congregation, must be the utterance of what is really felt, and cannot be arranged for beforehand. If we were more simple however, the feeling of praise, which is

often very truly present in our meetings, would probably more often be expressed in song. But there is a critical spirit, which demands the best music, if any; and to make sure of having good music, does need previous practice and arrangement. When song is the simple spontaneous expression of what the heart really feels, singing is often wonderfully blessed by God. We have recently seen this in the revival meetings in Wales; we know it to be the case sometimes in our "Mission Meetings," where we are more free in this respect; and we have it *occasionally* in our own meetings for worship. I shall never forget one Yearly Meeting, when, at the close of the Meeting on Ministry and Oversight, the whole assembly spontaneously united in singing the words of the Doxology, "Praise God from whom all blessings flow."

The question why there is no minister to conduct the service in our meetings has already been answered by what has been said of our belief that the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, the true Shepherd of His people, is with us, and that we want to leave the conduct of the meeting in His hands.

It is, however, important for us to understand that the fact of having no human leader is intended not only to turn our thoughts to Christ as *the* Minister, Teacher and Leader of His people, but also to make each one feel his own responsibility; for, whilst power to heal and help comes from the Lord alone, and He can and often does in the silence speak directly to the hearts of those who are present, yet, most often, His way is to use human means to reach human hearts, and He needs us to be ready to speak His words and carry His messages, and this not only in meeting, but at all times. The work that a pastor or minister of any other Church undertakes is, not only preaching and conducting the services on Sunday, but also trying to interest the members in the work of the Church, whilst bearing the

chief burden of it upon his own shoulders. This usually includes a Sunday School, visiting the sick and absent, arranging for Church lectures and social gatherings, besides various kinds of work amongst the poor, and other efforts towards the spread of the kingdom of God at home and abroad.

Amongst Friends all this work must be done by the members of the meeting, and, unless each is willing to take a share in it, something is sure to be neglected. Therefore much more depends in our Society than in other Churches on individual faithfulness.

In some Churches the minister is spoken of as the "priest," and does indeed act as such—that is, he stands between the people and God, assuming to offer to Him their prayers and praises, and to make them partakers of the blessing which they believe is received through the rites of baptism and the Lord's supper, sometimes also to receive their confessions of sin, and to promise forgiveness.

We find this idea, of a man acting as a priest or mediator between God and men, in the Old Testament, where the priesthood formed part of that old Jewish law, which was only intended to be as a "schoolmaster" to lead men to Christ, in whom it was all fulfilled. He is our High Priest, and we need no other, and in Him every true Christian is made a priest unto God; that is, we may *all* draw near, each one for ourselves, and one for another, without needing anyone to come between our souls and God.

In the teachings of Christ and His apostles we find nothing at all about the need for any human priest. The only condition of acceptable worship is that it shall be "in spirit and in truth." Christ's baptism is not outward with water, but in our hearts by the Holy Spirit; and communion with Him is for all His children at all times. As, however, there are so many good people of all denominations of Christians, who use the rites of baptism

and the Lord's supper, believing that Christ has commanded them to do so, we Friends ought to consider the subject carefully, and be able to give our reasons for doing without them. These are, shortly, as follows :—

(1) We believe that Christ came to teach a religion of the heart and life, quite apart from any outward form or ceremony. He came to bring us into personal touch with Himself as our Saviour and our Friend, and to make us understand the love of God our Heavenly Father. To believe that such outward things as the sprinkling of water, or eating bread and drinking wine, can have any effect upon our *hearts* seems to us quite contrary to the whole spirit of His teaching.

(2) In the Old Testament, where a great many rites and ceremonies were commanded, we find them all most carefully described, with full directions how each was to be done. Although the various parties among the Jews differed about many of their *beliefs*, they all agreed about how the sacrifices were to be offered, and who should offer them ; but Christ gave no directions about these ceremonies of baptism and the supper, and nothing has caused more discord among His followers than their differing opinions about these rites ; some thinking they should be administered in one way, and some in another. Not only have there been bitter feelings, but even persecution and bloodshed over these questions. If Christ had meant to institute these rites as a blessing to His Church, we feel sure that He would have given clear directions, so as to avoid all this disagreement.

(3) In the fifteenth chapter of Acts, vv. 6-29, we have an interesting account of a meeting held by the "apostles and elders and brethren" at Jerusalem, on purpose to consider how far it was necessary to insist on any outward rites as binding on the Gentile converts ; and we find that a letter was written directing them to observe certain "necessary" things, but neither water-

baptism nor the Lord's supper are mentioned, as would certainly have been the case, if "the apostles and elders" had considered these things important to a Christian life.

(4) WITH REGARD TO WATER-BAPTISM: At the beginning of each of the four Gospels (Matthew iii. 11, Mark i. 8, Luke iii. 16, John i. 33), and also in the first chapter of Acts (Acts i. 5), we are clearly told that Christ's baptism is *not* with water but "with the Holy Ghost," Matthew and Luke adding the words, "and with fire," which latter words have always been understood by all Christians as symbolical. Therefore we think that, whenever afterwards in our New Testament Christ's baptism is spoken of, we should understand it to mean baptism with the Holy Spirit, unless water-baptism is clearly referred to. When Jesus said to Nicodemus (John iii. 5), "Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God," we understand the word "water" figuratively, just as we do "fire" in the passages referred to in Matthew and Luke. "Fire" and "water" are both used to help us to understand the purifying effect which the Holy Spirit will have on our hearts, as water washes away and fire burns up impurities.

We take Christ's command to His disciples (Matt. xxviii. 19), "Go ye therefore and make disciples of all the nations, *baptizing* them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," in the same way, *i.e.* figuratively, and we are strengthened in our belief that we are right in doing so:—

(a) Because the disciples are so clearly told to wait till they themselves have received this Holy Ghost baptism, before they entered on their work (Acts i. 4, 5), and after they had received it, we find that they did "receive power" to go forth and bring men to the same baptism of the Holy Spirit (Acts ii. 38, iv. 31, viii. 14-17, x. 44, 45, etc.).

- (b) Because, although water-baptism is spoken of in several places in the Acts (*e.g.*, Acts viii. 12, 16, 36-38, x. 47, 48), it seems to have been used merely as a well understood mode of admission into the Church, and *not* as conferring any special grace. In Acts viii. 12-17, we find that the converts at Samaria were first baptised with water, and afterwards received the baptism of the Holy Ghost. In Acts x. 44-48, Cornelius and his household are first baptised with the Holy Spirit, and thus, the fact of their acceptance in the sight of God being so evident, the Jews who had come down to Cæsarea with Peter cannot refuse the water-baptism; but in both cases the two things are quite separate, and there is no hint of any grace conferred by the water-baptism.
- (c) The rite of water-baptism was the common way among the Jews of receiving converts. John the Baptist used it with this well understood meaning; and Christ submitted Himself to it as a "fulfilling of righteousness," according to the ideas of the time in which He lived. The early Church simply continued what was a well understood, and therefore convenient way for those who joined them to make a confession of faith. When, however, disputes began to arise about the rite, as when the Christians at Corinth disagreed about who was the proper person to baptize them, Paul said: "I thank God that I baptized none of you, save . . ." (1 Cor. i. 14); and again, "Christ sent me not to baptize but to preach the Gospel" (1 Cor. i. 17), and he certainly would not have said this, if the baptism with water had been really important or necessary to Christian life.
- (5) WITH REGARD TO THE LORD'S SUPPER: Notwithstanding what has been already said, many will say,

“This may all be true, but it does not excuse us from obedience to the command of Christ. We ought not to do what *we* think best. Christ said plainly, ‘This do in remembrance of Me.’ Our part is to obey His command, and obedience will bring a blessing.”

To these we would reply that we think they are mistaken in believing that Christ commanded any outward rite, and that for the following reasons:—

- (a) Although all the evangelists tell us about the last supper of our Lord with His disciples, and three of them (Matthew, Mark and Luke) tell us that he spoke of the bread and wine as His body and blood, yet it is only Luke (and he was not present) who mentions the command, “This do in remembrance of Me” (Luke xxii. 19); and these words are omitted in some of the best ancient manuscripts and versions, and two great Biblical scholars, Doctors Westcott and Hort, now tell us that they were not in the original text at all, but were added later. John, the disciple who of all others seemed to catch the most of his Master’s spirit, does not refer at all to the bread and wine in his account of the last supper, but he relates at some length the washing of the disciple’s feet by Christ, and tells us that He said, “I have given you an example that ye should do as I have done to you”; but whilst Christians generally take the eating of the bread and drinking of wine by Christ as establishing an outward rite, most are agreed in thinking that this action of feet washing was meant symbolically, to teach us a lesson of humble and loving service. We think *both* actions were equally intended to be understood in their spiritual meaning.
- (b) But suppose that these words, “This do in remembrance of Me,” were spoken by Christ,

and were intended to be taken literally, we still cannot see that they establish a new rite. Christ and His disciples were eating together the passover supper—a solemn religious feast, in which once a year the Jews celebrated their deliverance from the bondage of Egypt. The Jewish Christians continued to celebrate this feast for many years to come, and it seems to us that, in eating it with them, Christ wanted to teach them that, from this time onward, the thought of their deliverance from Egypt was to be swallowed up in the thought of the greater deliverance from the bondage of sin, which He had come to give, and of which that was only a type. The passover lamb, which was slain to remind them of the sprinkled blood which saved their homes from the destroying angel, was a type of Himself; and, in future, as long as they continued to keep that feast, His death for them and the deliverance which He brought was to be the foremost subject in their thoughts. “This do in remembrance of *Me*.” “Christ our passover is sacrificed for us.”

- (c) And, inasmuch as it was not over the lamb itself that Christ is said to have spoken these words, but over the bread and wine, those simplest (in those days) articles of food and drink, which formed part of every meal, many have thought that the words did not specially refer even to the passover meal, but had a still wider meaning, being in fact parallel to those passages in John vi., where Christ speaks of Himself as the “bread of life,” and says, “Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life” (John vi. 54). The Jews misunderstood these words, and said, “How can this man give us His flesh to eat?” Again, when Jesus said to His disciples (Matthew

xvi. 6-11), "Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees," they "reasoned among themselves, saying, 'It is because we have taken no bread.' " In both these instances we see clearly that the listeners were wrong in taking the words of Christ in their outward and literal meaning; and why should we suppose that His words were meant to be taken literally at this last supper?

The early Christians seem to have understood the words of Christ in their wider sense as applying to all eating and drinking, and so we find that every meal was to them, as it may be to us, a communion feast.

It seemed natural that, for those who had been with Christ, there should always be something very solemn in the breaking of bread together, as they remembered His teaching. It was as if He Himself were always present with them at their meals. Whenever they ate together, it was to them a "Lord's supper," to be eaten with gladness and singleness of heart.

But, as new converts were added to the Church, many of them from heathenism, this simple faith became changed. The new Christians missed their old sacrifices, whether Jewish or heathen; and the idea took root of some mystery attaching to the bread and wine over which Christ had spoken the words, "Take, eat, this is my body," etc., and they came to believe that by priestly consecration a wonderful change could take place, and the body and blood of Christ be really present. And in this way much of form and ceremony was mixed up with this simple feast, and, as with baptism, there were many disputes over the right way of taking it. We do not want, as regards either of these ordinances, to judge others who feel it right to make use of them, and who believe they receive blessing in doing so, but for ourselves we want to emphasize the importance of the spiritual realities.

It is not true, as we sometimes hear people say, that Friends do not believe in baptism and the Lord's supper. We do believe both in spiritual baptism and spiritual communion; and these are such real things to us, that we cannot lower them to the level of mere outward ceremonies, or be content with only enjoying them occasionally and at stated times.

Baptism to us means the Holy Spirit's power, so known and yielded to in our hearts, that we live in continual dependence upon His help and guidance. He brings us into such conscious fellowship with God and Christ, that we can truly say, "The life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself for me." "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me" (Gal. ii. 20).

Communion is opening the door of our hearts to the Lord Jesus and finding His promise fulfilled, "I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with Me" (Rev. iii. 20).

As one of the early Friends said: "The Lord's Supper I do receive, which is the body and blood of Christ, for that is my life; upon that do I feed and break it daily with the faithful."

We who set aside the outward ought to make sure that we do know these inward realities. Without these, the outward rites can never help anyone, and, if these are truly known, nothing more can be needed.

CHAPTER X.

WHY WE HOLD MONTHLY, QUARTERLY AND YEARLY MEETINGS.

WE have seen in earlier chapters how carefully Friends cared for those of their number who were in prison, or suffering for conscience sake ; and they found that the only way to do this properly, and to make sure that none were forgotten, was to hold meetings for receiving accounts of the sufferings of Friends and raising money to help them.

George Fox, in his "Journal," often speaks of "General Meetings," which seem to have held much the same place as our Quarterly and Yearly Meetings do now. At these, Friends of one or more counties met together to consider the needs of the poor and of prisoners, and also of Friends travelling as ministers. Thus in 1660, Fox writes : "And so to Skipton, where there was a General Meeting concerning the affairs of the Church. . . . Several years before, when I was in the north, I was moved to recommend to Friends the setting up of this Meeting for that service, for many Friends suffered in divers parts of the nation, and their goods were taken from them contrary to the law, and they understood not how to help themselves, or where to seek redress. But after this Meeting was set up, several Friends who had been magistrates, and others that understood something of the law, came thither, and were able to inform Friends, and to assist them in gathering up the sufferings, that they might be laid before the justices, judges or Parliament.

“Now this Meeting had stood several years, and divers justices and captains had come to break it up, but when they had understood the business Friends met about, and had seen Friends’ books and accounts of collections for relief of the poor, how we took care one county to help another, and to help our Friends beyond the seas, and provide for our poor, that none of them should be chargeable to their parishes, etc., the justices and officers would confess that we did their work, and would pass away peaceably and lovingly, commending Friends’ practices. And sometimes there would come two hundred of the world’s poor people,* and wait there till the meeting was done (for all the country knew we met about the poor), and then, after the meeting was over, Friends would send to the bakers for bread, and give every one of those poor people a loaf, how many soever there were of them ; for we were taught to do good unto all ; though especially to the household of faith.”

This was in the early days ; but, as Friends increased in numbers, it soon became clear that such General Meetings, only held occasionally, were not enough, and a great concern came over George Fox’s mind for setting up Meetings in every district where there were Friends, to be held once a month to care for the poor and prisoners and other needful matters.

In 1666, we find this entry in his “ Journal ” : “ Then was I moved of the Lord to recommend the setting up of five Monthly Meetings of men and women in the city of London (besides the Women’s Meetings and the Quarterly Meetings) to take care of God’s glory, and to admonish and exhort such as walked disorderly or carelessly and not according to truth. For, whereas Friends had had only Quarterly Meetings, now Truth was spread and Friends were grown more numerous, I was moved to recommend the setting up of Monthly

* This means, of course, not Friends.

Meetings throughout the nation. And the Lord opened to me, and let me see what I must do, and how the men's and women's Monthly and Quarterly Meetings should be ordered and established in this and other nations, and that I should write to them where I came not, to do the same. So, after things were well settled at London, and the Lord's truth and power and seed and life reigned and shined over all in the city, then I passed forth into the countries again." He then goes on to tell how he travelled through all the different counties "settling" Monthly Meetings. Indeed, from this time onward, he made this a very important part of his life work, and before his death, Monthly and Quarterly Meetings had been established all through England, Ireland and Scotland, and also in America and in some parts of the continent of Europe.

Prof. Rufus M. Jones says of him, "It is not the least mark of his genius that, in the face of an almost unparalleled persecution, he left his fifty thousand followers in Great Britain and Ireland formed into a working and growing body, with equally well organised Meetings in Holland, New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas."

He often met with great opposition, and, though not really an old man, he was worn with long imprisonments and was growing feeble, but he had an earnestness of spirit which carried him through many difficulties. Here is one glimpse of him travelling through the frost and snow during the winter of 1667: "So, leaving things well settled in Darbyshire, we travelled over the Peak Hills (which were very cold, for it was then frost and snow), and so came into Staffordshire. . . . But I was so exceeding weak, I was hardly able to get on or off my horse's back; but, my spirit being earnestly engaged in the work the Lord had concerned me in and sent me forth about, I travelled on therein, notwithstanding the weakness of my body, having

confidence in the Lord that He would carry me through, as He did by His power.

“So we came into Cheshire, where we had several blessed meetings, and a general men’s meeting; wherein all the Monthly Meetings for that county were settled, according to the gospel order, in and by the power of God. And after the meeting was done I passed away. But when the Justices heard of it, they were very much troubled that they had not come and broken it up and taken me, but the Lord prevented them.

“Thus were the men’s Monthly Meetings settled through the nation. The Quarterly Meetings were generally settled before.”

At the same time we find that George Fox encouraged *women* to take their share of work in the Church, and advised the holding of *Women’s Monthly Meetings*. There were evidently people then, as there are now, who were afraid that this was taking women out of their proper sphere; for George Fox had a good deal to say in answer to their objections, quoting instances from the Old Testament of women’s assemblies, and adding, “Now Moses and Aaron and the seventy elders did not say to those assemblies of the women, We can do our work ourselves, and you are more fitter to be at home to wash the dishes, or such like expressions; but they did encourage them in the work and service of God.” He goes on to say that, if the women in the days of Moses were allowed to help in the service of God, it is even more fitting that in this day of Christ’s Gospel they should serve about His heavenly tabernacle.

In another letter, he says: “Therefore keep in the power, that ye may stand up for your liberty in Christ Jesus, males and females, heirs of Him and of His Gospel and His order. Stand up for your liberty in the Gospel and in the faith, which Christ Jesus hath been the author of, for if ye lose it and let another spirit get over you, ye will not soon regain it. I knew

the devil would bestir himself in his instruments, when men's and women's meetings came to be set up in the power, light and truth . . . to watch one over another, to take care of God's glory and honour and His precious truth. . . I knew this would give such a check to all loose speakers, talkers and walkers, that there would be an opposition against such meetings. But never heed, truth will come over them all, and is over them all, and faith must have the victory."

Margaret Fell's daughter, Sarah, appears to have acted as the first clerk of the Women's Quarterly Meetings at Swarthmore, and a paper has been preserved written by her for her sisters, when she left home on her marriage to William Meade, of London, in 1681. It is headed, "Instructions how you may order the business in the Women's Quarterly Meeting Book," and begins as follows:—

"What business passes in the meeting is to be recorded in the book. But you must have a sheet of paper, and write it thereon first in the meeting while matters are in discourse; for then things are freshest, and words will rise most suitable to answer the matter in hand. At leisure it may be written fairly in the book, observing my way and the method I have used.

"The first business to be done is to call over the Meetings, and see that there be some women from every particular Meeting in the county. In the beginning of the book they are entered one after another, by which you may call them over in order. If there be any Meeting that there is no women from, that neglect must be taken notice of, and inquiry made into the cause; and, if it requires it, they should be reprov'd for their slackness and desired to be more careful for the future.

"At the meeting which is in the Seventh Month every year, inquiry must be made how it is with the women in every particular Meeting in the county, as to the clearness of their testimonies against tithes and un-

righteous demands, touching the priests' wages and steeplehouse repairs, etc., at which meeting an account is to be brought from every particular Meeting in the county, either by word or writing, so that you may be satisfied that the Lord's truth and power are kept up over their oppression ; and that this people be a clear people before Him in truth and uprightness of heart."

J. W. Rowntree, in his lectures, "The Rise of Quakerism in Yorkshire," has collected some old Monthly Meeting minutes, which are very interesting as showing the kind of business dealt with in these early days. Most of the minutes are, he tells us, concerned with collections for the poor or for "Friends in prison." The building of Scarborough Meeting House is recorded as follows :— "The account, what the house cost, which Peter Hodgson, Senior, built for Scarborough in the year 1676 for the public Meetings of the Lord's people (by men called Quakers) to meet in for the worship and service of God. The first purchase and building the said Meeting House upon the ground (with the charge of the writings), cost £150 13s. 4d., which was disbursed by the persons underwritten as followeth. (Here follows a list of fifty-nine names.)

Other minutes tell of Quaker books being bought and distributed, such as Penn's "No Cross, no Crown," or Whitehead's "Christian Quaker ;" others record intentions of marriage ; and in 1682 (when Philadelphia was founded) and the following years, there are many certificates for Friends removing to America.

In 1681 there is a pathetic entry about some money which had been collected to redeem "John Easton, of Stockton, from the Turks' Captivity." Poor John Easton had probably died in slavery, for he could not be found, so the money was set apart for the "redemption of Henry Strangwis from Turkish Slaverie." Two years later the money was again returned, Henry Strangwis also being dead.

John Easton and Henry Strangwis may have belonged to the company of Quaker seamen in slavery at Algiers, of whom we are told that they served their masters so faithfully, that they were allowed to walk "loose" [that is without chains] through the town, and liberty was given them to hold a meeting. This meeting was regularly held for many years, and was attended by other English slaves, quite a number of whom were "convinced" and joined Friends. Sometimes their masters, the Turks, also came to meeting.

When persecution ceased, and Friends increased in prosperity and numbers, the minutes more often deal with cases of discipline, and we begin to meet with disownments.

Matters of dress now claim attention, as, for instance, in the following Minute, issued in 1712 by the Women's Meeting at York:—

"We desire an alteration in these things . . . as follows, *viz*:—Friends' gowns made indecently, one part over long and the other too short, with lead in the sleeves; and that Friends should come to a stability, and be satisfied in the shape and compass that Truth leads into, without changing as the world changes; also black or coloured silk or muslin aprons, as likewise hoods or scarves not too long or broad; and we desire that Friends keep clear of putting on their handkerchiefs according to the fashion of the world . . . also that Friends' clothes may be a dark modest colour, and not have the hair cut or powdered."

About the same date a query of Kendal Quarterly Meeting makes us smile, but shows us how sadly Friends were losing the warmth of their first love and sinking into formality and drowsiness:—

"Whether Friends keep up their week-day meetings, observing the hour appointed, and how preserved out of dulness and sleepiness when met, and how such as

sit next them that be overcome do discharge their brotherly duty by stirring of them up."

Having heard how these Meetings first began, let us consider why they have been continued, and what use they are to us now. Happily we do not now have Friends in prison needing our care, nor have we many Friends "in needy circumstances"; not because we do not like poor people to join our Society, but because it has been found that, where people live honest lives and are satisfied with a simple way of living, they can almost always earn enough to supply their own wants without asking help from others.

George Fox tells us how in the early days of the Society many people, seeing how hospitably Friends entertained one another at their meetings, etc., prophesied that Friends would soon eat one another out and come to be chargeable to the parishes; but, he says, they soon "saw the falseness of all their prophesies against us. At first," he says, "when Friends could not put off their hats to people, nor say you to a single person but thou and thee, nor could not bow, nor use flattering words in salutations, nor go into the fashions and customs of the world, many Friends, that were tradesmen of several sorts, lost their customers, for the people were shy of them and would not trade with them; so that for a time some Friends that were tradesmen, could hardly get money enough to buy bread. But, afterwards, when people came to have experience of Friends' honesty and faithfulness, and found that their yea was yea, and their nay was nay, that they kept to a word in their dealings, and that they would not cozen and cheat them, but that, if they sent any child to their shops for anything, they were as well used as if they had come themselves; the lives and conversations of Friends did preach, and reached to the witness of God in people. And then things altered so, that all the inquiry was, where was a draper, or shop-keeper, or tailor, or shoe-

maker, or any other tradesman, that was a Quaker ? . . . And then the envious professors altered their note, and began to cry out, ' If we let these Quakers alone, they will take the trade of the nation out of our hands.' "

But, although we have no prisoners, and very few poor needing help, there are still a great many things needing attention ; the care and education of the young, receiving new members, counselling any who are disorderly, making arrangements for travelling ministers, setting up new Meetings when needed, and generally doing what we can both in our own Society and outside to help forward, as our Query puts it, " the spread of the Redeemer's kingdom at home and abroad."

Every company of people who have united together with a common aim must have a life that belongs to them as a whole, as well as the individual life of each member, and, to control this life of the Society and direct its activities, the members must meet—indeed, one great reason for joining a Church or Society is that, in many ways, people can do better work and make their influence more felt by acting *together*, than if each one just acted for himself. By thus working together as a united Society, Friends have, for example, been a great power in the world for liberty of conscience, truthfulness, and the spirituality of worship ; and have been leaders in the great causes of prison reform, education, peace, temperance and many others, which have helped to make the world better.

The underlying thought in all our Meetings, for business as well as in those for worship, has always been that Christ is the Head of His Church, and that under Him each one must be faithful in taking his individual share in the work of the Meeting. So our " Meetings for Church affairs " are not only attended by a few, but are open to *all* our members ; and when we meet there, everyone has an equal right to express an opinion on any subject that is being considered. It might

seem that this would open the way for much disorder and discord ; but we can thankfully say that, so really do we feel the presence of Christ in these gatherings, and so earnest is the desire to be guided by His Spirit, that the greatest unity and love are usually felt, even when Friends hold widely different views about the subject under discussion.

Every Meeting appoints its own "Clerk," who acts both as Chairman and Secretary. His duty is to bring before the Meeting the various subjects which must be considered, always making room for any other business which may arise at the time. After each question has been freely talked over, he records the "sense of the meeting" in a Minute. No vote is ever taken. If there is great difference of opinion, an adjournment is usually agreed upon, and it is found that time and further consideration often make it easier to unite in a decision.

There are four distinct kinds of business meetings: Preparative, Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly. The PREPARATIVE, or congregational, is composed of the Friends of any one Meeting, and meets to consider matters relating to it, and to appoint representatives and prepare business for the Monthly Meeting to which it belongs. The Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings are so called because they usually meet once a month, once a quarter, and once a year, respectively.

Every separate Meeting belongs to a group of Meetings, which together form a MONTHLY MEETING. These receive new members, record Ministers, and appoint Elders to advise and encourage the ministers, and to see to the good order of public worship. They also appoint Overseers to counsel the disorderly, visit the sick, and care for the poor. Besides this, committees are often appointed in each Monthly Meeting to take special charge of Home and Foreign Mission work, Peace, Temperance, Adult and Sunday School work, and all other questions in which Friends are active, and

their duty is to keep in touch with and encourage the work in each Meeting, and report its progress once a year to the Monthly Meeting.

Each QUARTERLY MEETING consists of a number of Monthly Meetings, usually those in one or more counties. It receives reports, and discusses matters which relate to the whole group of Meetings; it also passes on reports to the Yearly Meeting, and receives instructions or messages from it.

The YEARLY MEETING is the final court of appeal for the Society for all the Meetings represented in it. London Yearly Meeting includes the whole of England, Wales, Scotland and Australia, and has been regularly held ever since 1668,* usually, as Sewel tells us, "in the week called Whitsun-week, because at that time of the year it is commonly best travelling." Three early "Queries" asked by the Yearly Meeting are interesting, as showing us what an important part of the business of the meeting it then was to collect accounts of the sufferings of Friends and bring them before the Government, so as, if possible, to get redress.

Query 1. What present prisoners ?

Query 2. How many discharged last year ? When and how ?

Query 3. How many died prisoners ?

Cases of suffering, calling for prompt action, often happened between the Yearly Meetings, and it was to attend to these that a committee of London Friends, with correspondents in the different counties, was first appointed. They were to be consulted and asked to act in emergencies, without waiting for the next Yearly Meeting. This Meeting met on the sixth day of every week, and was called "The Meeting for Sufferings." We still have a standing committee with this name, which meets once a month and attends to all matters that need prompt attention.

* For note as to earlier Meetings see ch. xx. p. 240.

From 1668 to 1904, without a break, the Yearly Meeting was held in London. In 1905 it was held at Leeds, and in 1908 is to be at Birmingham. This change in the place of meeting has been made to give a greater number of people the chance of being present at some of the meetings, and has on the whole been successful.

Besides busying himself in the work of organisation, George Fox led the Friends in their brave stand for freedom of worship, which has been described in a previous chapter, and lost no opportunity of bringing their case before the King or Parliament, or any of those in authority.

Here is a typical extract from his "Journal" in the year 1680 :—

"As it was a time of great suffering amongst Friends, I was drawn in spirit to visit Friends' Meetings more frequently; to encourage and strengthen them both by exhortation and example. The Parliament also was sitting, and Friends were diligent in waiting upon them, to lay their grievances before them.

"We received fresh accounts almost every day of the sad sufferings Friends underwent in many parts of the nation. In seeking relief for my suffering brethren I spent much time, together with other Friends, who were freely given up to that service, attending at the Parliament House for many days together, and watching all opportunities to speak with such members of either House as would hear our just complaints."

Everywhere we find him in the forefront of the fight. Whenever he heard of Friends being kept out of a meeting, or of special violence being used, "It was upon me from the Lord to go to that Meeting," he writes, and often the constables seem to have been wonderfully quieted by his influence and presence.

Here is one instance out of many similar ones (1683) :—

“One First-day it was upon me to go to Devonshire House Meeting in the afternoon, and, because I had heard Friends were kept out there that morning, . . . I went the sooner, and got into the yard before the soldiers came to guard the passages. But the constables were there before me, and stood in the doorway with their staves.

“I asked them to let me go in. They said they could not, nor durst not ; for they were commanded the contrary, and were sorry for it. . . . I stood till I was weary, and then one gave me a stool to sit down on, and after a while the power of the Lord began to spring up among Friends, and one began to speak.

“The constables soon forbade him, and said he should not speak, and, he not stopping, they began to be wroth. But I gently laid my hand upon one of the constables, and wished him to let the Friend alone. The constable did so and was quiet, and the man did not speak long. After he had done, I was moved to stand up and speak.

“I then sat down, and after a while I was moved to pray. The power of the Lord was over all, and the people, the constable and soldiers put off their hats.

“When the meeting was done, and Friends began to pass away, the constable put off his hat, and desired the Lord to bless us ; for the power of the Lord was over him and the people, and kept them under.”

Truly a wonderful evidence of the Lord's power, that the constable who came intending to break up the meeting should stay to pronounce the benediction at the close!

Soon after the accession of James II., George Fox writes, “I came back to London in the First Month, 1686, and set myself with all diligence to look after Friends' sufferings, from which we had now some hopes of getting relief. The Sessions came on in the Second Month at Hicks's Hall, where many Friends had appeals to be tried. I was with these from day to day, to

advise them, and to see that no opportunity was slipped nor advantage lost ; and they generally succeeded well.

“Soon after, the King was pleased, upon our often laying our sufferings before him, to give order for the releasing of all prisoners for conscience sake, that were in his power to discharge. Thereby the prison doors were opened, and many hundreds of Friends, some of whom had been long in prison, were set at liberty.

“Some of those who had for many years been restrained in bonds came now up to the Yearly Meeting. . . . This caused great joy to Friends, to see our ancient, faithful brethren again at liberty in the Lord’s work, after their long confinement. And indeed a precious meeting we had ; the refreshing presence of the Lord appearing plentifully with us and amongst us.”

CHAPTER XI.

THE BARCLAYS OF URY.

THE work of organisation described in the last chapter was not carried out by George Fox without raising great opposition. Many thought that he was taking too much upon himself, and that even these arrangements, which we see are so necessary for good order and to make it possible for us to work together, gave too much authority to men and led people away from dependence on the Spirit of God. Some even said that Friends ought not to train or educate their children! Fox wrote vigorous letters to show how mistaken these people were, and appealed to the instinct of birds and animals in training their young to show that education was part of the divine order of things. He advised the establishment of schools, for girls as well as boys, wherein the "young maidens" might be taught "whatsoever things were civil and useful in the creation." When he died, he bequeathed land in Philadelphia for a botanic garden and a school-house.

Amidst many discouragements Fox worked on with unwearying patience and meekness. "On all these occasions," says William Penn, "though there was no person the discontented struck so sharply at as this good man, he bore all their weakness and prejudice, and returned not reflection for reflection, but forgave them their weak and bitter speeches, praying for them that they might have a sense of their hurt, and see the subtilty of the enemy to rend and divide, and return unto their first love that thought no ill."

Amongst those who stood by Fox most faithfully in all these efforts for building up the Society and for the relief of suffering Friends, were William Penn and Robert Barclay. They were both men of good education, and by their writings defended him ably against those who opposed him.

The story of William Penn must have a separate chapter, but it will be interesting here to tell shortly something about Robert Barclay. His father, David Barclay, was descended from an old Scottish family, who, in the seventeenth century, were obliged, owing to political troubles, to sell the estates which they had held for more than 500 years. After this, David, the young laird, who was a zealous reformer, joined the army of the Protestant Union under Gustavus Adolphus, as a volunteer, and was soon promoted for his bravery.

When the Civil War broke out in England, David Barclay returned home and became a Colonel in the Royalist army. When the war was over, he retired from military life, bought an estate at Ury, near Aberdeen, married, gave his attention to politics, and was soon returned to Parliament. Here he was very successful in pleading the cause of certain of the Scotch gentry, who had forfeited their estates, and this made him very popular. Robert was his eldest son, and was sent to finish his education under the care of his uncle, who was a Catholic and chaplain of the famous Scots' College, in Paris. Here he distinguished himself greatly, and his uncle was so delighted with him, that he wished to adopt him and make him his heir. But his mother, who died in 1663, made it her dying request to her husband, that he would go to Paris and persuade Robert to return home, and both husband and son felt it a sacred duty to carry out her wishes.

The peaceful and happy death of his wife seems to have made a great impression upon David Barclay,

and reminded him that he too should be thinking about, and preparing for the life to come. But he could not make up his mind what body of Christians to join, for each one said that all the others were wrong, and each persecuted those who held different views.

He wisely set himself to study his New Testament, and there he found that the religion of Christ teaches men to be humble, patient, self-denying and to suffer all things for Christ's sake. About this time he heard of the Quakers, and thought to himself that, if what even their enemies said of them was true, they must be a very remarkable people. So he visited some of them, and went to hear them, and, after carefully considering all that he saw and heard, he became convinced that, "if the Lord Jesus Christ has a Church of true followers on earth, those whom the other Societies in derision call Quakers must be that Church."

When David Barclay joined Friends, he was very anxious that his three sons should decide for themselves and not be influenced by his example; so Robert was sent to visit his mother's relatives, some of whom were Episcopalians, some Roman Catholics, and others Presbyterians; but it was not long before he too felt that he must join the persecuted Quakers. He tells us, "When I came into the silent assemblies of God's people, I felt a secret power amongst them which touched my heart, and, as I gave way unto it, I found the evil weakening in me and the good raised up, and so I became thus knit and united to them, hungering more and more after the increase of this power and life."

Joining Friends seems to have given Robert Barclay a new impulse in his studies. He felt that the Society needed a man who could meet other learned theologians on their own ground, answering their objections and defending the Quaker position logically and with a thorough understanding of all the arguments on the other side. He therefore set to work to perfect himself

more thoroughly in Greek and Hebrew, and then made a careful study of the writings of the Fathers and the history of the Christian Church. The great work which embodies the result of all this study is his "Apology," the full title of which was, "An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the same is held forth, and preached, by the people, called in scorn, Quakers; being a full Explanation and Vindication of their Principles and Doctrines, by many arguments, deduced from Scripture and Right Reason, and the testimonies of famous authors, both ancient and modern; with a full answer to the strongest objections usually made against them." This book was published in Latin in 1676, and afterwards in English, and translated into Low Dutch; and was presented to the King by the writer, who was then only 28 years old. It was of great service to Friends at the time, and is still the classic defence and exposition of our Quaker faith.

Every Friend should read Barclay's "Apology." It has been called a "Masterpiece in divinity," and its author "the one great original theologian whom Scotland has produced."

The early Friends were often accused of not valuing the Bible, or accepting it as a rule of life, and anyone who will read carefully Barclay's chapter on the Scriptures will understand why their enemies said this, but also how misleading it really was.

Friends believe that God reveals Himself, as far as man is able to understand and willing to obey. In Old Testament times men could not understand so much about God and His will for men, as after the coming of Christ; and so His revealing of Himself could not be so full as it is in the New Testament, and the writers, although inspired by the Holy Spirit, were nevertheless men, and some of them very childish men, and they mixed up God's message with their own ideas.

We value the Bible because we believe it was written

under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, but, for this very reason, we place the Spirit who inspired the Bible before the Bible itself, as a safe guide. No one can rightly understand any part of the Bible except by the help of the same Holy Spirit, who inspired the writers of it; but, just because we believe that He did inspire it, Friends agree with Barclay's statement, "That whatsoever any do, pretending to be led by the Spirit, which is contrary to the Scriptures, shall be accounted and reckoned as a delusion of the devil."

Professor Jowett once said, in words which have been adopted by Bishop Westcott, "Interpret the Scripture like any other book. There are many respects in which Scripture is unlike any other book; these will appear in the results of such an interpretation. The first step is to know the meaning; and this can only be done in the same careful and impartial way that we ascertain the meaning of Sophocles or of Plato."

If Friends had always remembered what Barclay teaches, the modern plan of studying the Bible would have been welcomed without any fear.

When we once get it clearly into our minds that the Bible is not one book only, but a whole library of books, written by different people, at different times in the world's history, and in many different countries; that some of it is history, some poetry, some prophecy and some letters; and that all these precious records were entrusted by God to men liable to make mistakes, like ourselves, and that they have come down to us through many centuries, and have had to be copied and re-copied, and to be translated out of their original languages before they have reached us; we shall surely realise that to understand the Bible rightly is no easy task, and that the only way we can hope to do so is by studying it patiently and reverently, seeking for the help of God's Holy Spirit. We must do *our* part, that is, use the understanding God has given us, and then, as we

look to Him, He will "enlighten" that understanding, and make the Bible really God's message to our hearts.

Both David Barclay and his son Robert suffered much for their faith in those days of persecution. Besides imprisonments, they had to meet the coldness and scorn of former friends and acquaintances, and the taunts and derision of those who used to look up to and respect them; but, when one of his friends was once lamenting to David Barclay that he should have to bear such indignities in his old age, he replied, "I find more satisfaction, as well as honour, in being thus insulted for my religious principles, than when, a few years ago, it was usual for the magistrates, as I passed the city of Aberdeen, to meet me on the road and conduct me to public entertainment in their hall, and then escort me out again, to gain my favour." Whittier has well pictured this brave spirit in his poem:

BARCLAY OF URY.

Up the streets of Aberdeen,
By the kirk and college green,
Rode the Laird of Ury;
Close behind him, close beside,
Foul of mouth and evil-eyed,
Pressed the mob in fury.

Flouted him the drunken churl,
Jeered at him the serving girl,
Prompt to please her master;
And the begging carlin, late
Fed and clothed at Ury's gate,
Cursed him as he passed her.

Yet, with calm and stately mien,
Up the streets of Aberdeen
Came he slowly riding;
And, to all he saw and heard
Answering not with bitter word,
Turning not for chiding.

Came a troop with broad-swords swinging,
Bits and bridles sharply ringing,
Loose and free and froward ;
Quoth the foremost, " Ride him down !
Push him ! Prick him ! Through the town
Drive the Quaker coward ! "

But from out the thickening crowd
Cried a sudden voice and loud :
" Barclay ! Ho ! a Barclay ! "
And the old man at his side
Saw a comrade, battle tried,
Scarred and sunburned darkly ;

Who with ready weapon bare,
Fronting to the troopers there,
Cried aloud : " God save us !
Call ye coward him who stood
Ankle deep in Lützen's blood,
With the brave Gustavus ? "

" Nay, I do not need thy sword,
Comrade mine," said Ury's lord ;
" Put it up, I pray thee ;
Passive to His holy will,
Trust I in my Master still,
Even though He slay me ;

" Pledges of thy love and faith,
Proved on many a field of death,
Not by me are needed."
Marvelled much that henchman bold
That his laird, so stout of old,
Now so meekly pleaded.

" Woe's the day," he sadly said,
With a slowly shaking head,
And a look of pity ;
" Ury's honest lord reviled,
Mock of knave and sport of child,
In his own good city !

“ Speak the word, and, master mine,
As we charged on Tilly’s line
And his Walloon lancers,
Smiting thro’ their midst we’ll teach
Civil look and decent speech
To these boyish prancers ! ”

“ Marvel not, mine ancient friend,
Like beginning, like the end ; ”
Quoth the Laird of Ury ;

“ Is the sinful servant more
Than his gracious Lord, who bore
Bonds and stripes in Jewry ?

“ Give me joy that in His name
I can bear, with patient frame,
All these vain ones offer ;
While for them He suffereth long,
Shall I answer wrong with wrong,
Scoffing with the scoffer ?

“ Happier I, with loss of all,
Hunted, outlawed, held in thrall,
With few friends to greet me,
Than when reeve and squire were seen,
Riding out from Aberdeen,
With bared heads to meet me.

“ When each goodwife, o’er and o’er,
Blessed me as I passed her door ;
And the snooded daughter,
Through her casement, glancing down
Smiled on him who bore renown
From red fields of slaughter.

“ Hard to feel the stranger’s scoff,
Hard the old friend’s falling off,
Hard to learn forgiving ;
But the Lord His own rewards,
And His love with theirs accords,
Warm and fresh and living.

“Through this dark and stormy night
Faith beholds a feeble light
Up the blackness streaking ;
Knowing God’s own time is best,
In a patient hope I rest
For the full day-breaking ! ”

So the Laird of Ury said,
Turning slow his horse’s head
Towards the Tolbooth prison,
Where, through iron gates he heard
Poor disciples of the Word
Preach of Christ arisen !

Not in vain, Confessor old,
Unto us this tale is told
Of thy day of trial ;
Every age on him who strays
From the broad and beaten ways
Pours its seven-fold vial.

Happy he, whose inward ear
Angel comfortings can hear,
O’er the rabble’s laughter ;
And, while Hatred’s faggots burn,
Glimpses through the smoke discern
Of the good hereafter.

Knowing this, that never yet
Share of Truth was vainly set
In the world’s wide fallow ;
After hands shall sow the seed,
After hands from hill and mead
Reap the harvests yellow.

Thus with somewhat of the Seer
Must the moral pioneer
From the Future borrow ;
Clothe the waste with dreams of grain,
And on midnight’s sky of rain
Paint the golden morrow !

CHAPTER XII.

GEORGE FOX AND MARGARET FELL.

IN an earlier chapter we heard much of Margaret Fell, the widow of Judge Fell and mistress of Swarthmore Hall; and we left her, after her own release from a long imprisonment, visiting other sufferers and their families, in the year 1668-9.

When this work was finished, she went to see one of her married daughters, Isabel Yeamans, at Bristol, and whilst she was there, George Fox arrived from a visit to Friends in Ireland. He tells us in his "Journal," "I had seen from the Lord a considerable time before that I should take Margaret Fell to be my wife," and that on his mentioning it to her, she "felt the answer of life from God thereunto." And now they both believed that the right time had come for the marriage.

So, after they had told Margaret Fell's children about it, and had been assured of the hearty approval of all her daughters and sons-in-law, the intention of marriage was "laid before Friends," and "many of them gave testimony thereunto that it was of God." Soon afterwards they were married according to the custom of Friends in the Meeting-house at Broad Mead, Bristol, on the 18th of Eighth Month, 1669; when a certificate, which is still preserved, was read and signed by the relations and by many "ancient Friends."

George and Margaret Fox were both so devoted to the Lord's work and so united in purpose, that they were quite willing to suffer long separations, if it seemed best for the work they had at heart.

The first separation came very soon, for George Fox relates that, after the marriage, "we stayed about a week in Bristol, and then went together to Olveston, where, taking leave of each other in the Lord, we parted, betaking ourselves each to our several service; Margaret returning homewards to the north, and I passing on in the work of the Lord as before."

Early in 1670 they had planned to meet again in Leicestershire, but when George Fox got there, he says, "Instead of meeting with my wife, I heard that she was hauled out of her house and carried to Lancaster prison again by an order gotten from the King and Council to fetch her back to prison upon the old premunire." Two of her daughters who were in London went at once to the King, who readily promised a release; but Colonel Kirkby and other magistrates in the North, who were bitter enemies to the Quakers, raised difficulties, and it was two years before the united efforts of all her friends could again secure her liberty.

When she was at last set free, children, grand-children and friends, rejoicing to welcome her home, were at Swarthmore Hall to meet her; but she soon travelled up to London, as her husband had written, asking her to join him there to attend the Yearly Meeting adding that, when that was over, he had a prospect of going to the West Indies for Gospel service. It must have been hard to be separated again so soon, but we find no word of repining.

The few weeks before he sailed were spent at Kingston-on-Thames, the home of a married daughter, in preparation for this voyage, which proved a very remarkable one. Margaret Fox and some other Friends went on the ship as far as Deal, and there she finally took leave of her husband.

The vessel was so leaky that the sailors and some of the passengers had to pump day and night to keep the water from gaining.

One afternoon, when they had been about three weeks at sea, they sighted a Moorish pirate ship, which seemed to be giving them chase. As night drew on, the pirates gained on their vessel; and when the captain altered his course, she altered hers too and continued to gain.

Seriously alarmed, the captain and others came to George Fox's cabin to ask his advice, saying that, "if the mariners had taken Paul's counsel, they had not come to the damage they did." He answered, "that it was a trial of faith, and therefore the Lord was to be waited on for counsel.

"So," he says, "retiring in spirit, the Lord showed me that His life and power were placed between us and the ship that pursued us. I told this to the master and the rest, and that the best way was to tack about and steer our right course. I desired them also to put out all their candles but the one they steered by, and to speak to all the passengers to be still and quiet.

"About eleven at night the watch called and said they were just upon us. This disquieted some of the passengers. I sat up in my cabin and, looking through the port-hole, the moon being not quite down, I saw them very near us. I was getting up to go out of the cabin, but, remembering the word of the Lord, that His life and power were placed between us and them, I lay down again.

"In a short time," he continues, "a fresh gale arose, and the Lord hid us from them; we sailed briskly on and saw them no more."

George Fox spent three weeks in Barbadoes and about seven weeks in Jamaica, visiting Friends and "settling" Meetings throughout these islands. On going forward to each fresh place, he usually mentions that he wrote a letter to his wife, but, although his letters are very tender and loving, they are very short and give almost no details about himself, and must, we should think, have

been very unsatisfying to the faithful wife, who was following him with such loving interest.

Here is one of them, written just as he was leaving Jamaica:—

“ My Dear Heart,

“ To whom is my love, and to the children, in that which changeth not but is over all; and to all Friends in those parts. I have been at Jamaica about five weeks. Friends here are generally well, and here is a convincement; but things would be too large to write of. Sufferings in every place attend me, but the blessed Seed is over all; the Great Lord be praised, who is Lord of sea and land, and of all things therein. We intend to pass away from hence about the beginning of the next month, towards Maryland, if the Lord please. Dwell all of you in the Seed of God; in His Truth I rest in love to you all.

“ G. F.

“ Jamaica, 23rd of Twelfth Month, 1671.”

In Barbadoes, George Fox first met with slavery, and thus advised Friends concerning it: “ I desired them also that would cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with their negroes and not use cruelty towards them, as the manner of some hath been and is; and that after certain years of servitude they would make them free.”

He travelled through Maryland, Virginia, New England, East Jersey, Rhode Island, Delaware, New York and the Carolinas, through many dangers and hardships; for travelling at this time was very difficult, as the following extracts will show:—

“ The next day we began our journey by land to New England [from Maryland], a tedious journey through the woods and wilderness, over bogs and great rivers.”

“ We took horse at the head of Tredhaven Creek and travelled through the woods, till we came a little above

the head of Miles River, by which we passed, and so to the head of Chester River, where, making a fire, we took up our lodging in the woods. Next morning we travelled through the woods, till we came to Sassafras River, which we went over in canoes, causing our horses to swim beside us.

“Then we rode to Bohemia River, where, in like manner, swimming our horses, we ourselves went over in canoes. We rested a little at a plantation by the way, but not for long; for we had thirty miles to ride that afternoon, if we would reach a town, which we were willing to do, and therefore rode hard for it. I, with some others, whose horses were stronger, got to the town that night, exceedingly tired, and wet to the skin; but George Pattison and Robert Widders, being weaker-horsed, were obliged to lie in the woods that night also.

“The town we went to was a Dutch town, called New Castle, whither Robert Widders and George Pattison came to us next morning.

“We departed thence, and got over the river Delaware, not without great danger of some of our lives. When we were over, we were troubled to procure guides, which were hard to get, and very chargeable. Then had we that wilderness country, since called West Jersey, to pass through, not then inhabited by English; so that we sometimes travelled a whole day together without seeing man or woman, house or dwelling place. Sometimes we lay in the woods by a fire, and sometimes in the Indians’ wigwams or houses.

“We came one night to an Indian town and lay at the house of the King, who was a very pretty* man. Both he and his wife received us very lovingly, and his attendants (such as they were) were very respectful to us. They gave us mats to lie on; but provision was very short with them, they having caught but little

* *i.e.* kindly.

that day. At another Indian town where we stayed, the King came to us, and he could speak some English. I spoke to him much, and also to his people ; and they were very loving to us. . . .

"The next day we passed away about sixteen miles to a meeting at Middletown, through woods and bogs, and over a river where we swam our horses, and got over ourselves upon a hollow tree. . . .

"I determined to pass through the woods on the other side of Delaware Bay, that we might head the creeks and rivers as much as possible. On the 9th of the Seventh Month we set forwards and passed through many Indian towns, and over some rivers and bogs ; and when we had ridden about forty miles, we made a fire at night and lay down by it. As we came among the Indians, we declared the day of the Lord to them."

At one place in Carolina, he tells us, "The Governor with his wife received us lovingly ; but a doctor there would needs dispute with us. And truly his opposing us was of good service, giving occasion for the opening of many things to the people concerning the Light and Spirit of God, which he denied to be in everyone ; and affirmed that it was not in the Indians.

"Whereupon," says G. F., "I called an Indian to us, and asked him whether, when he lied, or did wrong to anyone, there was not something in him that reproved him for it. He said there was such a thing in him, that did so reprove him ; and he was ashamed when he had done wrong, or spoken wrong. So we shamed the doctor before the Governor and the people. . . .

"Having finished what service lay upon us in Virginia, on the 30th of Tenth Month we set sail in an open sloop for Maryland. But, having a great storm and being much wet, we were glad to get to shore before night ; and, walking to a house at Willoughby Point, we got lodging there that night. . . .

"We returned to our boat in the morning and hoisted up our sail, getting forward as fast as we could. But, towards evening, a storm rising, we had much ado to get to shore; and, our boat being open, the water splashed often in, and sometimes over us, so that we were completely wet. Being got to land, we made a fire in the woods to warm and dry us, and there we lay all night, the wolves howling round us."

"On the 1st of the Eleventh Month we sailed again. The wind being against us, we made but little headway, and were fain to get to shore at Point Comfort, where yet we found but small comfort. For the weather was so cold that, though we made a good fire in the woods to lie by, the water that we had brought for our use was frozen near the fireside."

Soon after this their "spirits began to be clear of these parts of the world, and draw towards Old England again," yet they "felt freedom from the Lord" to stay over the general meeting for the province of Maryland, which lasted four days, and of which he writes, "It was a wonderful, glorious meeting, and the mighty presence of the Lord was seen and felt over all; blessed and praised for ever be his Holy name, who over all giveth dominion!"

When this meeting was over, they sailed for England, on the 21st of Third Month, [May] 1673, and after a very stormy voyage, cast anchor on the 28th of Fourth Month [June], at King's Road, then the harbour for Bristol. Here they procured horses and rode to Bristol, where Friends received them with great joy; and George Fox wrote to tell his wife of their safe arrival.

She at once came south to join him, and, after visiting London, they started on their journey to Swarthmore together. On the way, however, George Fox was seized at the house of John Halford of Armscott, and sent to Worcester jail, with his son-in-law, Thomas Lower; and Margaret Fox and her daughter had to continue

their journey alone. George Fox had had a feeling beforehand that this imprisonment was coming, and wrote from Worcester jail to his wife as follows :—

“ Dear Heart,

“ Thou seemedst to be a little grieved when I was speaking of prisons, and when I was taken. Be content with the will of the Lord God. For, when I was at John Rous’s, at Kingston, I had a sight of my being taken prisoner ; and when I was at Bray Doily’s, in Oxfordshire, as I sat at supper, I saw I was taken, and I saw I had a suffering to undergo. But the Lord’s power is over all ; blessed be His Holy name for ever !

“ G. F.”

George Fox had just received a message from his mother, telling of her illness, and was intending to go and see her ; but she died before he was set at liberty.

During this imprisonment, which lasted a year and two months, he was very ill, and, when set at liberty in London, to which place he had been brought, was too weak at once to undertake the long journey to Swarthmore. So he and his wife stayed at Kingston with a son-in-law, visiting the meetings near London and writing.

About four months later they returned home. This was the first time that George Fox had been at Swarthmore since his marriage six years before ; and many of the neighbouring county gentry called to pay their respects. Even Colonel Kirkby, his old persecutor, presented himself.

We are glad to hear that George and Margaret Fox now spent a year and eight months together in the quiet enjoyment of home life, George Fox busying himself with writing and arranging his papers. But as soon as his health improved, his active spirit led him to travel again, establishing Meetings for Discipline and engaging in other service.

On the 16th of Second Month, [April] 1677, he wrote from York to his "Dear Heart" as follows:—

"In the power of the Lord I am brought to York, having had many meetings in the way. The road was many times deep and bad with snow, our horses sometimes were down, and we were not able to ride; and sometimes we had great storms and rain; but by the power of the Lord I went through all. . .

"At York yesterday we had a very large meeting, exceedingly thronged, Friends being at it from all parts, and all quiet and well satisfied. Oh the glory of the Lord that shone over all! . . .

"John Whitehead is here, with Robert Lodge and others. Friends are mighty glad above measure. So I am in my holy element and holy work in the Lord; glory to His holy name for ever! To-morrow I intend to go out of the city towards Tadcaster, though I cannot ride as in days past: yet praised be the Lord that I can travel as well as I do!

"So with my love in the fountain of life, in which as ye all abide ye will have refreshment of life, that by it we may grow and gather eternal strength to serve the Lord and be satisfied. So to the God of all power, who is all-sufficient to preserve you, I commit you all.

"G.F."

Some months later his wife wrote from Swarthmore:—

"Dear Love,

"Glad I am to hear that the Lord preserves thee in health and capacity to travel in His work and service, for which I praise His holy name. We hope and expect He will draw thee homewards in His blessed time. Thou art much expected and longed for here, but we must all submit to the Lord's will and time. I received thy kind token by Leonard, which I did not expect; but I know it is thy true love to remember us

[thus]. I thought to have sent something by Mary Fell to thee, but I considered thou would only buy something with it for me, as thou used to do, which caused me to omit it. I perceive thou hast sent things to the children by Leonard, he hath not yet delivered them ; but thy company would be more and better to us than all the world, or than all the earth can afford ; but only for the Lord's truth and service [are we willing to give it up], we would not exchange it for all beside. . .

"We desire much to hear from thee, and what way thou passest. All things are well here with us. Praised and honoured be the Lord,

"From thy endeared and loving wife,

"M. F."

The reference in this letter to George Fox buying something for her if she sent him money is explained by other letters, from which we learn that if, when he was from home, his wife sent him money, he was sure to spend it all (and often more) in a present for her. Thus, once, when she had sent him money to buy clothes for himself, he writes to tell her that he had bought her "a piece of crimson cloth for a mantle" from Richard Smith, believing she needed that more than he did the coat. Another time from Worcester prison he writes to say that with the money she had given him he had asked a Friend to buy as much Spanish cloth as would make her a gown, adding, "It cost a great deal of money, but I will save."

George Fox does not seem to have been "drawn homewards" for some time to come. After attending the Yearly Meeting of 1677 in London, he went to Holland with William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith and other Friends. Their visit was full of interest and adventure, and was, as George Fox puts it, "of great service to Truth." They travelled not only through Holland, but also in some parts of Germany,

and returned in the spring of 1678 in time to attend Yearly Meeting.

The year 1679 was spent quietly at Swarthmore, but after that, the last ten years of George Fox's life, except another short journey to Holland, were almost entirely passed in the neighbourhood of London; for, he tells us, "Suffering continuing severe upon Friends at London, I found my service lay mostly there; wherefore I went but little out of town, and not far; being frequent at the most public meetings to encourage Friends, both by word and example, to stand fast in the testimony to which God had called them."

Margaret Fox made many journeys up to London to be with her husband, but she writes thus of these last years of his life: "Though the Lord had provided an outward habitation for him, yet he was not willing to stay at it, because it was so remote and far from London, where his service most lay. And my concern for God and His holy eternal Truth was then in the North, where God had placed and set me, and likewise for the ordering and governing of my children and family; so that we were very willing both of us to live apart for some years upon God's account, and His Truth's service, and to deny ourselves of that comfort which we might have had in being together, for the sake and service of the Lord and His Truth.

"And, for my own part, I was willing to take many long journeys; . . . and though I lived two hundred miles from London, yet have I been nine times there."

The last time she saw him was about six months before his death. He had retired to Kingston for rest, and she came to be with him, and stayed to attend with him the Yearly Meeting of 1690. He seems to have felt that his service in London was almost over, and was looking forward to returning to Swarthmore in a few weeks or months, and perhaps settling there.

Of this last visit to him Margaret Fox writes : " And of all the times that I was at London, this last time was most comfortable, that the Lord was pleased to give me strength and ability to travel that great journey, being seventy-six years of age [Margaret Fox was ten years older than her husband], to see my dear husband, who was better in his health and strength than many times I had seen him before. I look upon that, that the Lord's special hand was in it, that I should go then; for he lived but about half a year after I left him, which makes me admire the wisdom and goodness of God in ordering my journey at that time."

He was growing gradually weaker, and often had to leave London for rest and change of air. He went to Tottenham, Winchmore Hill, Enfield and other country meetings near, returning to London when his strength was restored.

The last epistle George Fox ever wrote is dated 10th of Eleventh Month, 1690, [*i.e.* January, 1691] and was to the suffering Friends in Ireland.

The next day he went to Gracechurch Street meeting, which was large, and in which he preached a long and powerful sermon. He then prayed, and the meeting closed. When some Friends came to his room in White-Hart-Court later in the day, he told them that he had " felt the cold strike to his heart, as he came out of the meeting"; but he added, " I am glad I was there. Now I am clear, I am fully clear!" Later in the day he said " All is well; the Seed of God reigns over all and over death itself. And though I am weak in body, yet the power of God is over all." Thus in a heavenly frame of mind he fell asleep in peace on the evening of the 13th January, 1691.

His body was laid in the Friends' burying ground near Bunhill Fields, where his grave may still be seen, marked by a simple stone.

His keen interest in the Society up to the last is shown by an address which he gave at the "Morning Meeting" only eight days before his death. A Friend who was present says: "I much minded his exhortation to us, encouraging Friends that have gifts to make use of them, mentioning many countries beyond the seas that wanted visiting, instancing the labours and hard travels of Friends in the beginning of the spreading of Truth in our days, in breaking up of countries and of the rough ploughing they had in Steeple-Houses, etc., but now it was more easy; and he complained of many Demases and Cains, who embrace the present world, and encumber themselves with their own business and neglect the Lord's, and so are good for nothing."

His widow writes thus, "And now he hath finished his course and his testimony, and is entered into his eternal rest and felicity. I trust in the same powerful God, that His holy arm and power will carry me through, whatever He hath yet for me to do; and that He will be my strength and support, and the bearer up of my head unto the end and in the end. For I know His faithfulness and goodness, and I have experience of His love; to whom be glory and powerful dominion for ever. Amen."

During most of the remaining twelve years of her life, Margaret Fox lived quietly at Swarthmore Hall, the centre of a large family circle, whose interests, as well as those of Friends generally, were all very near her heart. One of her sons-in-law writes in 1700:—

"Dear and honoured Mother.

"We had thy acceptable letter of the 16th of last month, and were refreshed, as usual, at the receipt and reading of it; blessing the Lord that thou art still continued to be a comfort to thy children, who, I believe, have no outward greater joy than to hear of thy health and welfare."

During these later years Margaret Fox suffered from defective eyesight, and was largely dependent upon others in the matter of her correspondence and in other ways. This makes us feel all the more indebted to her for the faithfulness with which she continued to serve the Society.

Only a few months before her death she wrote a vigorous letter, which she calls a "Revival of her Testimony," to some who seem to have been unruly spirits amongst Friends; so that she was evidently active and full of interest in all around to the end of her life. Her last illness was short, and her soul was full of rejoicing in the love of God. As she felt the end drawing near, she asked her much beloved daughter Rachel to take her in her arms, and then, saying, "I am in peace," she gently breathed her last. She was in the eighty-eighth year of her age.

CHAPTER XIII.

WILLIAM PENN.

WE will now turn to one of the most interesting chapters in Quaker history—the story of William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania.

His father, Admiral Sir William Penn, was one of England's great sea captains. He married when quite young, and had a fine house near the Tower of London, where his eldest son was born in 1644. The young captain was very proud of his beautiful boy, whom he named after himself, and he determined to push his own fortunes, so as to give his son the best possible advantages for a start in life, hoping that he would one day rise to even greater wealth and honours than he himself could gain. Looking out over the Thames from his nursery windows, and hearing many tales of battles and adventures by sea and land, little William was cradled amidst warlike surroundings, and no one would have thought that he was one day to be an Apostle of Peace.

Soon the family moved to Wanstead in Essex, and William was sent to a Grammar School at Chigwell, where he was taught by a Puritan schoolmaster, who was a good and earnest man; and under his influence the boy's mind seems to have awakened to the reality of God, and the beauty of truth and goodness. One day, when he was about eleven years old, he was alone in his room, and the feeling of God's nearness was so real that it was like a bright light shining into his heart, and a voice seemed to speak to him, bidding him to lead a pure and holy life.

Soon afterwards the family moved to the South of Ireland, where Admiral Penn owned an estate which had been given him for his services to the Commonwealth. The new home was called Macroom Castle ; and there, helping his father in plans for laying out and improving the land, William Penn grew from a boy into a tall, handsome young man, with a great love of field sports, riding, boating and all other outdoor exercises. His studies were continued under a tutor, with whom he made such good progress that, when he was fifteen, his father decided to send him to Oxford.

Although Admiral Penn had served under Cromwell, and received honours and promotion from him, he had never really cared about political questions. Commonwealth or King was all the same to him, so long as he was in favour with the party in power. Even before Cromwell's death, he had been in secret correspondence with Charles and James Stuart, and he was among the first of those who travelled to the Low Countries to offer allegiance to the new Sovereign. He therefore enjoyed a large share of royal favour, and when his son entered Christ Church as a gentleman commoner, both the King and his brother, the Duke of York (afterwards James II.), declared themselves his patrons. This gave him a brilliant position in the social circle of his college. He was a hard-working student, a skilful oar, an excellent sportsman ; and made many friends.

But amidst all these varied occupations he was true to the ideals of his boyhood, and soon had a chance of showing his colours.

An attempt was made by the High Church party to bring back again into the Church services the use of the prayer book, the altars and vestments and other ceremonial, which had been done away with under the Commonwealth. Many of the students, who had been brought up in the simple Puritan ways, objected strongly to these changes, especially as those who upheld them

were mostly idle and good-for-nothing youths, sons of courtiers, sent there because it was fashionable, whose presence was a constant source of trouble to the earnest and studious men. Just at this time, the Oxford Quaker preacher, Thomas Loe, whom Penn had heard a few years before at Macroon Castle, was arousing some interest by preaching Quaker doctrines in the City. Penn and some of his friends went to hear him, and the simple Quaker meeting, with no forms or ceremonies, seemed so much more real to them than their College Chapel, that they went again and again, although their absence from Chapel was noticed, and they were all brought up and fined for non-attendance. Then came an order from Whitehall that a surplice was to be worn by all University students. This roused the Puritan students to violent opposition. They not only refused to wear the garment themselves, but waged war against all who had put it on, and in the quadrangles and College gardens, or in the streets of the town, they set upon the wearers and tore the surplices off their shoulders. Penn was a ringleader in these disturbances and, as a result, seems to have been expelled from Oxford.

On his return home he was received with anger, for this disgrace was a terrible blow to his father. The proud and ambitious Admiral had planned that his son should lead a gay and courtly life; and, when he found that the boy's wishes were entirely opposed to this, he was highly displeased. But it soon occurred to him that the best way to cure a young man of sober thoughts and grave ways would be to let him travel and see the world; and he resolved to send his son to the gay Court of Paris. He went with some of his college friends, was presented to Louis XIV., and became a welcome guest at Court. In the fashionable circles of Paris and Versailles he seems to have forgotten for a time his Puritan thoughts; and his father, pleased with the success of the plan, wrote to William, telling him to

remain abroad and finish his education. He, therefore, spent about two years studying at Saumur, and travelling through France and Italy.

He made good use of his opportunities for study both at Oxford and abroad, reading a great deal of history and theology, and gaining a good knowledge of Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Dutch and German. During this time also he met Algernon Sidney, who became his life-long friend.

When he returned home, we are told that "the change in his manners and appearance threw the polite world into a state of wonderment." He was about twenty years of age, tall and handsome, with graceful carriage and easy manners. During his stay abroad he had copied the French fashions of dress, and had learnt to pay compliments and to carry his rapier in the French mode. He parted his hair in the middle of his forehead, and let it fall over his neck and shoulders in natural ringlets. He was presented at Court, where he stepped into his place with ease and dignity, both the King and the Duke of York assuring him of their favour.

Admiral Penn was delighted; and, to avoid any risk of a return to his old companions and thoughts, he kept him constantly busy on the King's business or his own affairs. He entered him as a student at Lincoln's Inn, that he might understand something of his country's laws; and, when war broke out again with the Dutch, and Sir William, who was now called Great Captain Commander, went to sea, William went with him and saw some smart service. After three weeks, however, he was sent on shore with despatches to the King, and then he returned to his legal studies.

In June of this year (1665), the plague broke out in London, in the neighbourhood of Admiral Penn's house; and every day many fell down in the streets stricken dead in a moment. All who could possibly do so fled away to a distance. The rest shut themselves up in

their houses, and hardly dared to go out even to buy food.

In the near presence of death William saw more clearly the seriousness of life, and his old religious earnestness revived. He shut himself up with his books, left off his French fashions and ceased to attend at Court. When the Admiral came home from sea, he was surprised and troubled to see the change. He soon determined to send him away again, this time to Ireland. When Penn reached Dublin, he was warmly received by his father's friend, the Duke of Ormonde, who was Viceroy, and whose Court was one of the purest and most refined in Europe. The young Earl of Arran, son of the Duke, became William's most intimate friend; and, when a mutiny broke out at Carrickfergus, the two young men were sent to quell it. Penn distinguished himself so much by his courage and coolness during this service that he was made an Ensign, and wrote home eagerly to tell his father of his success, and to ask his leave to take up arms as a profession. This wish, however, was not granted. Admiral Penn was proud of his son's conduct; but the Restoration had deprived him of his Castle at Macroom; and, although King Charles had arranged that he should receive in exchange the barony of Imokelly including Shangarry Castle, there were other claimants to the estate and many lawsuits to be settled. So he told his son that he must give up the idea of being a soldier, and try to get the family affairs into order. This was a great disappointment, and in order to preserve the memory of his dream of military glory, William sat for his portrait dressed in full armour. It is a curious fact that this is the only genuine portrait existing of this great man of peace.

He now turned his thoughts to the business his father had entrusted to him, which he managed with so much skill and prudence, that he won the confidence and admiration of all parties. The grant of the Shangarry

estates was confirmed ; the admiral was able to live in a style of great magnificence ; he was promised a peerage, and, happy in the belief that his son had forgotten all about the Quakers, looked forward confidently to his succeeding him in his title and estates.

But through all these years, deep down in William Penn's heart, there had been that longing after God which the world can never satisfy. One day, when in Cork on business, he heard that the Quaker preacher, Thomas Loe, whom he had heard at Oxford, was to preach that night. He went to hear him, and the words came with power to his heart : " There is a faith that overcomes the world, and there is a faith that is overcome by the world." Hitherto he had wavered ; on the one side were his father's wishes, and all that the world could offer of position, wealth and honour ; on the other reproach and suffering, and the pain of displeasing his parents, but with all this the assurance in his own heart that it was a true message to which he had listened, and that in obedience to it he would find that communion with God for which he longed. His choice was made ; and from that hour William Penn was a Quaker.

Soon after this a company of soldiers broke up a meeting which was being held at Cork, and carried all the congregation, including William Penn, before the mayor on a charge of riot. Seeing the young lord of Shangarry Castle among the prisoners, the mayor wished to set him free ; but, knowing that he had broken no law, he refused to enter into terms and was sent to prison with the rest. An order was soon sent for his discharge, but the story was in every one's mouth, and his friends at Dublin were greatly distressed. Having argued with him in vain, they wrote to tell his father, who at once ordered him to return home.

At first the Admiral tried to laugh him out of his Quakerism, but with no effect ; then he reasoned with him, but the son was a better theologian than his father.

At last he grew angry, and finally turned him out of doors, declaring, "I will give my estates to someone who pleases me better than does my unruly son."

After a few months Penn was allowed to return home, but his father still refused to speak to him or to sit at table with him. He busied himself in writing pamphlets in defence of his new principles, but he was as a stranger in his own home; no one there seemed to take any interest in his movements, and his chief comfort was in attending meetings and mingling with other Friends.

One day he met Isaac Penington, who invited him to Chalfont Grange in Buckinghamshire; and it was a real refreshment to the lonely youth to be made welcome to the family life of this beautiful home. Isaac Penington had married the widow of Sir William Springett, a lady of great beauty and refinement; and her daughter Gulielma Maria Springett lived with them, a much loved elder sister to the younger children who now filled the home.

Thomas Ellwood, who acted as the children's tutor, lived near by, and divided his time between Chalfont Grange and the home of his master, Milton, a neat little cottage, which Ellwood had taken to provide a refuge for the blind poet from the plague.

It was a choice circle of kindred spirits. They were the first to whom Milton recited parts of his poem of "Paradise Lost," and it was here that Ellwood's words, "Thou hast said much of 'Paradise Lost,' what hast thou to say of 'Paradise Found,'" suggested to the poet the writing of the second poem.

Penn spent many happy hours among these friends, sometimes walking in the fields with Gulielma and the children, sometimes listening to music or poetry in Milton's cottage, sometimes talking with Isaac Penington and Thomas Ellwood on questions of philosophy, politics or religion. He stayed some months at Chalfont Grange, long enough to discover that, amid its many charms,

the chief one for him was the presence of Gulielma Springett; and, although she had refused many suitors from among the rich and great, she smiled graciously upon him, and a little later, with the full consent of her parents, she promised to be his wife.

Meanwhile the remembrance of this visit helped him through the dark days that were soon to follow.

Soon after his return to London, William Penn heard of the serious illness of his old friend Thomas Loe. He went to see him; and, as he sat by his bedside, the dying man gave him this parting message, "Dear heart, bear thy cross, stand faithful for God, and bear thy testimony in thy day and generation, and God will give thee an eternal crown of glory, that none shall ever take from thee. There is no other way. Bear thy cross! Stand faithful for God."

A few months later Penn was thrown into the Tower because of his earnestness in defending the Quaker faith. He was kept there for eight months and sixteen days in a solitary dungeon, and was not allowed to see any of his friends except occasionally his father. Whilst he was there, tidings reached Admiral Penn that the Bishop of London had determined that he should either recant or die in prison. "Surely," thought Sir William, "this will move the stubborn boy," and he sent the news on to his son. But neither the Bishop nor his father understood William's courage and spirit. "Thou mayest tell my father," he said to the servant, "my prison shall be my grave, before I will budge one jot. They are mistaken in me, I value not their threats. I owe my conscience to no mortal man."

During his imprisonment he consoled himself by writing, and called his book "No Cross, no Crown." It was a wonderful work for so young a man. The second part, which was added later, consists of a collection of the sayings of the heroes and wise men of all nations in favour of the doctrine, that to do well and bear ill is

the only way to lasting happiness. He gives 151 quotations, all to the point. It was widely read and is still a favourite amongst religious books.

The manliness of Penn's conduct in prison won the admiration of his father, who finally obtained his release. He was, however, still unwilling to see him, and, fearing fresh troubles if William stayed in England, he sent him to Ireland to look after the family estates at Shangarry.

But the Admiral's health was fast failing. He was only forty-nine years of age, but he had had many anxieties and troubles. Worldly fame, which he had worked so hard to gain, seemed of little value to him now; and he longed for the companionship of the son, whom he really loved, and whom he had now learned to honour.

A hint that he would be welcome at home was enough for William, who at once arranged his business, so that he could hurry back to his father. He found him living very quietly, and much changed. For four or five months he had not been able to leave the house. William was warmly welcomed, and his presence was a great comfort to the poor admiral, who was thoroughly weary of the world.

The father and son were not, however, able to be together long. About two months after Penn's return home, he went, as usual, one First-day morning, to the Meeting-house in Gracechurch Street, and found it closed, and the door guarded by a company of soldiers. The Friends gathered in the street outside, and after a time William Penn began to speak to them. Immediately the soldiers came forward and arrested him, together with another Friend, William Meade, an old soldier of the Commonwealth, who was standing by his side. The prisoners were lodged in the Old Bailey, and Penn wrote sorrowfully to tell his father what had happened.

The trial which followed was one of the most important which has ever taken place in England. The prisoners

were charged with being present at an "unlawful assembly," and they both decided to plead "not guilty."

The full report of the trial is well worth reading. Penn, who had studied law to some purpose, made a powerful defence. The jury had for foreman Thomas Veere; and one of their number, Edward Bushel, was a man of great firmness and courage. Although threatened by the Recorder, they brought in a verdict of "Guilty of speaking in Gracious Street," against William Penn. This, of course, was no offence, or every London merchant would have been constantly breaking the law. The jury were locked up all night without food or fire to reconsider their verdict, but only repeated it next morning. The threats were renewed, as the following extract from the report of the trial* shows:—

Mayor [to the Jury]: Have you no more wit than to be led by such a pitiful fellow? I will cut his nose.

Penn: It is intolerable that my Jury should be thus menaced. Is this according to the fundamental laws? Are not they my proper Judges by the great Charter of England? What hope is there of ever having justice done, when Juries are threatened and their verdicts rejected? I am concerned to speak, and grieved to see such arbitrary proceedings. Unhappy are those Juries, who are threatened to be fined and starved and ruined, if they give not in verdicts contrary to their consciences.

Recorder: My Lord, you must take a course with that same fellow.

Mayor: Stop his mouth; jailor bring fetters and stake him to the ground.

Penn: Do your pleasure, I matter not your fetters.

Recorder: Till now I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards in suffering the Inquisition among them; and certainly it will never

* "The People's Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted" pp. 27, 28.

be well with us till something like the Spanish Inquisition be in England.

So the jury were sent back to their room to endure another night of cold, hunger and raging thirst. But they were fighting for freedom of conscience, and for the rights of Englishmen, and they would not give way. When they were brought, pale and haggard, before the Court next morning, their verdict was "Not guilty," to the great satisfaction of the assembled multitude. But the Recorder, angry that he could not force them, said to the jury : *

"I am sorry, Gentlemen, you have followed your own judgments and opinions, rather than the good and wholesome advice which was given you ; God keep my life out of your hands, but for this the Court fines you forty marks a man, and imprisonment till paid."

At this Penn stepped up towards the Bench, and said : "I demand my liberty, being freed by the Jury."

Mayor : No, you are in for your Fines.

Penn : Fines, for what ?

Mayor : For contempt of Court.

Penn continued to protest against the injustice of this, but the Recorder ordered him to be taken out of Court ; and prisoners and jury alike were sent to Newgate until their fines should be paid.

At Penn's suggestion the jury now brought an action against the Recorder for unjust imprisonment, before the Court of Common Pleas ; and all England anxiously awaited the issue, for it would decide whether a jury was free to bring in a verdict contrary to the sense of the Court. The case was decided in favour of the jury, and they left Newgate victorious. This decision, called Bushel's case, is a landmark in the history of English freedom, and a tablet has been placed on the site of Newgate, commemorating the event.

* "The People's Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted." pp. 30, 31.

Soon afterwards some unknown friend paid the fines for Penn and Meade, who would never have paid them themselves; and Penn was again free to go to his father. The Admiral was sinking fast, and was glad to have his son with him in these last hours. All the old bitterness and misunderstanding seemed to have passed away, and he had none but loving words and good wishes to leave behind him. Almost his last words were, "Let nothing in the world tempt you to wrong your conscience; so you will keep peace and honour, which will be a rest to you in the day of trouble. . . . I pray God to bless you all, and He will bless you."

After his father's death Penn edited a full account of the trial, and published it under the title of "The People's Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted." This made him many enemies, and they soon contrived to have him in Newgate again. But he spent his time in writing more books and pamphlets, which were so convincing, that their author was called "The Sword of the New Sect." All these imprisonments made Penn feel more and more strongly the mistake of punishing men for their religious beliefs. God is the only Lord of the conscience; and he resolved that, so far as he was able, he would try to gain religious freedom for all men.

When he was liberated, he made a long journey into Holland, and some parts of Germany, to carry messages of sympathy from Friends in England to some who had gone there to escape from persecution. Many had fled still further across the ocean to the New World, and Penn heard the letters they had written home, telling how they had at last found freedom to worship God in their own way. He was beginning to despair of ever gaining this freedom in England, and his thoughts often turned to the land, to which so many of the best men of the age were going for conscience sake.

Returning to England, he was married to Gulielma Maria Springett, and they settled down at Rickmans-

worth, near Chalfont. Here, for a time, Penn enjoyed such happiness in his home life as he had never known before, while he still busied himself in writing pamphlets and letters pleading for religious liberty. But he could not rest when there was work to be done. Persecution was still hot against the Quakers. Penn had influence at Court, for the Duke of York had always shown him favour both for his own and his father's sake ; and he determined to do what he could by personal intercession for the imprisoned Friends, as well as by pressing on those in authority the need for granting religious liberty. He was often accused of being a Jesuit in disguise, because he was almost the only one in those days brave enough to say that liberty of conscience should be given even to Roman Catholics.

But the more he strove the more clearly he saw that there was very little hope of obtaining such freedom in England ; and it came to be a great longing of his heart to found a colony across the sea, which should be a refuge for all who were persecuted for conscience sake—a place where everyone should have perfect freedom to worship God as he thought right. The story of how he carried out his “Holy Experiment” must be told in another chapter.

CHAPTER XIV.

PENNSYLVANIA.

FOR some years William Penn had taken a great interest in emigration to America. He had acted as trustee for the territory of West New Jersey, which was in the hands of some Friends, and had given much thought and care to preparing for this province a constitution, which should ensure freedom of conscience, and give as much liberty as possible to the people.

The time had now come, when he could carry out his ideals even more freely and on a larger scale. When Admiral Penn died, he left all his property to his Quaker son. Besides land in England and Ireland, the Government owed him £15,000, which was a very large sum in those days. Penn now asked that, instead of money, a tract of unoccupied crown-land in America might be given him. At first there was great opposition to this plan, for Penn's ideals of government were not popular at Whitehall; but to pay the debt in money could not be thought of, and so, at last, his request was granted, the Charter was signed, and Penn became the owner of a tract of country almost as large as England. It lay north of the Catholic province of Maryland owned by Lord Baltimore, and stretched across the Alleghanies to the banks of the Ohio river on the west, and to the shores of Lake Erie on the north. It was covered with thick forests and extensive prairies. The winters were known to be severe, and very few Europeans had, as yet, thought the land worth settling upon, although it formed a grand hunting ground for numerous tribes of

Indians, who chased the elk and wild deer over its plains, or danced the war-dance and smoked the pipe of peace beneath the shade of its majestic trees. There was only one outlet to the sea, the mouth of the Delaware River, but that formed a splendid natural harbour in which the commerce of a great nation might find ship-room.

Penn wished to call his province New Wales, because it was so mountainous; but the Secretary of State, who was a Welshman, objected. The new owner then suggested "Sylvania" on account of its magnificent forests, and the King insisted on adding "Penn," in honour of the great Admiral; and so it was named *Pennsylvania*—the Forestland of Penn.

The King, who had no sympathy with Penn's peaceful views, introduced a clause into the Charter of Pennsylvania, empowering him to make war upon the Indians or "savages" as he called them.

When it was known that Penn was determined to build no forts, and to have neither cannon nor soldiers to defend his country, many people prophesied that all the settlements would soon be destroyed by the Indians. "What can such people expect," they said, "in settling amongst fierce and blood-thirsty savages, but to be tomahawked and scalped, every man, woman and child of them?"

But William Penn was full of hope. "God hath given me this land," he exclaimed, "in the face of the world. He will bless it and make it the seed of a nation."

The first thing to be done was to draw up a constitution for the government of the new province. Penn prepared this most carefully, with the help (amongst others) of his friend, the patriot and statesman, Algernon Sidney. It gave great power to the people, absolute liberty to all to worship God according to their conscience; and it carefully limited the authority of the

Governor, for Penn said, "I propose . . . to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of an whole country."

Penn at once sent out his cousin, Colonel Markham, with some others, to take possession of the province in his name, and to treat with the Indians for lands. The Colonel had instructions to explain to them that the new governor was coming with no arms, and in a friendly spirit, to buy their lands from them, as white men buy from one another.

He was also to choose a site for the city which Penn hoped to found. This was to stand high and dry, on the banks of the Delaware, and, according to the original plan, it was to cover about twelve square miles with its houses, gardens and orchards. The building of detached houses, with rustic porches and creepers, was to be encouraged, for Penn wished it to be "a greene country towne, which will never be burnt and always wholesome." He had already chosen its name, "Philadelphia"—"The City of Brotherly Love."

It was more than a year later before Penn could go himself to visit his new possessions. There had been many things to arrange, for the voyage was a long and perilous one in those days, nor could he tell how the Indians would receive him. He felt sure that his plan of treating them like brothers was the right one; but they had been so used to injustice from other Europeans, that they had learnt to look upon all white men as their enemies, and mischief might happen before he could make them understand his friendship. So he would not take his wife and children, until he could be sure of a safe and comfortable home for them in the new country, but said farewell, as if he might never see them again, writing a long and beautiful letter to tell them his wishes for their future. Although he desires his wife to be economical (for the "Holy Experiment" will cost

much money), he bids her to spare no expense in the education of the children. The boys, Springett and William, are to learn building, ship carpentry, surveying, navigation and agriculture. Letty is to pay attention to the affairs of a household. Thinking of his children as likely to be, one day, rulers in the new country, he charges them to be "lowly, diligent and tender, fearing God, loving the people and hating covetousness." "Live," he writes, "the lives yourselves, you would have the people live," "Keep upon the square, for God sees you ; therefore do your duty, and be sure you see with your own eyes and hear with your own ears." "Cherish no informers, for gain or revenge, fly to no devices to support or cover injustice, but let your hearts be upright before the Lord."

The vessel which was to take William Penn to America was called the *Welcome*. She carried less than 300 tons burden, but was considered a stately bark. About 100 Friends who wished to settle in the new colony sailed with him, and the provisions and household goods for so large a party made the scene on board lively and exciting. Turkeys, ducks, fowls, sheep, pigs, barrels of oranges, flour, sugar and all the other eatables that they would want on a voyage, which would certainly last for six, and might last fourteen weeks, had to be taken on board. Then there were the Governor's horses, the carved doors and window frames, and many other things for the house which he intended to build for himself. They finally set sail from Deal on the 1st of September, 1682, and with a favourable breeze pushed boldly out to sea.

Unfortunately a case of small-pox broke out on board, and, before they had reached the middle of the Atlantic, nearly every man, woman and child was sick. Thirty out of the one hundred passengers died during the voyage, besides several of the ship's company. William Penn did all he could for the sufferers. He

went from cabin to cabin to give medicines, and to comfort the sick and dying; but after nine weeks of this terrible experience, we can imagine with what joy they welcomed the sight of land.

Already a number of settlers, mostly English and Swedes, had come over, and the Governor was received with great rejoicing. He landed at a little town called Upland, which was afterwards named Chester, and there summoned his first Assembly. It was held in the Friends' Meeting-house, as the largest building in the place, and the representatives were chosen by popular vote. They left their ploughs or their building for three days, founded a State, and went back to their homes. There was little talk and much work in this first Pennsylvanian Parliament! They adopted the Constitution which Penn had drawn up in England, with very little alteration, and added twenty-one new laws. Every child of twelve years old, rich or poor, was to be taught some useful trade; prisons were to be made houses of industry and education; and the punishment of death, which was inflicted in England for more than two hundred different crimes, was abolished, except in cases of murder or treason.

But a very important part of Penn's work still remained to be done. The "Holy Experiment" was not only to be a test of whether a government could prosper, which allowed religious liberty, and such a large share of power to the people, as was given by the Constitution of Pennsylvania, but it was also an attempt to prove to the world that justice and kindness are far surer safeguards than armies or navies, or strong fortifications.

George Fox had refused a captaincy in Cromwell's army, because he felt that the power of the life of Christ in which he lived, the power of love and brotherhood, was contrary to the war-spirit, and must do away with it; and the Society of Friends has always held the same

belief, teaching as one of its most important principles that the followers of Christ cannot fight, but must love all men, even their enemies.

Many of the early Christians held the same view, and stories are told of the courage of young Romans during the first three centuries, in refusing to bear arms. "I am a Christian and therefore I cannot fight," was the answer they gave to explain their conduct; and many suffered martyrdom rather than yield to what they felt to be disobedience to Christ's command.

Although the Church, as a whole, has fallen from this standard of universal love and brotherhood, and has even encouraged war and bloodshed, yet there have always been here and there a few faithful witnesses to the peaceful nature of Christ's kingdom; and the fact that so many good people now fail to see that war is wrong makes it all the more important that we Friends shall be faithful in living up to and making known what we believe.

Christ's most emphatic and most often repeated command to His followers was, "Love one another," and the whole of His teaching depends on the great principles of love, unselfishness and sacrifice for the sake of others, all of which are quite opposed to the war-spirit.

People often say that peaceful methods are all very well as an ideal, and may be possible when the world has grown better than it is now; but that, as things are to-day, it is necessary to defend property and life by force, if others wrong us, and that between nations there are many disputes that can only be settled by war. We would reply that the world never will become better, unless those who have seen this ideal of brotherhood and love are willing to act it out in their lives, whatever it may cost them. No Christian man and no Christian nation ought to ask, which way will be the safest and happiest, but which is the *right* way—the

way Christ teaches; and surely there can be no question as to the answer.

But, even as regards policy and safety, we need not hastily condemn the way of love and peace, for the world has never yet given it a really fair chance of being tried.

William Penn determined to try this plan with the Indian tribes in his new colony, and we shall see how it succeeded there.

His first wish was to make the Indians understand that he was really their friend. Colonel Markham had already bought land from them and made a treaty of friendship in Penn's name; and they were ready to give a kindly welcome to the great Englishman, whom they called Onas (the Indian word for pen). He walked with them alone and unarmed into the forests; he joined in their feasts, eating their roasted acorns and hominy, and sat with them round their camp fires at night, to watch the young men at their games and dances. He even joined in their leaping matches, and, when he beat all the Indian youths, they could hardly control their delight and admiration.

After much friendly intercourse, and when he had learnt to know Tamiment and other Indian chiefs, he frequently met the Indians in conference and made several treaties of friendship with them. The most celebrated of these was the "Great Treaty" at Shackamaxon, of which an interesting account has been preserved.

The name "Shackamaxon" means the Place of Kings, and was so called because the Indian tribes had for many generations been accustomed to meet there to arrange differences and smoke the peace-pipe together. The spot was marked by a magnificent elm* with wide spreading

* This venerable tree remained, until a great storm blew it down in 1810. A piece of it was sent home to the Penn family, and the rest made into vases and other relics.

branches, already 155 years old. It was on the banks of the Delaware, near the new city of Philadelphia, which was already being built. On one side, the river was to be seen sparkling in the sunshine; on the other, as far as the eye could reach, beautiful in their autumn dress of red and golden leaves, stretched magnificent forests.

To this place, on the appointed day, came William Penn, in his barge, or yacht as we should call it, with Colonel Markham and a small band of Friends.

A lady who was an eye witness of the ceremony, tells us that Penn, who was at this time 38 years of age, was "the handsomest, best-looking, most lively gentleman" she had ever seen. His biographer, Hepworth Dixon, tells us that his dress was simple, but in the fashion of the day, and consisted of "an outer coat reaching to the knees and covered with buttons; a vest of other materials, but equally ample; trousers extremely full, slashed at the sides, and tied with strings or ribbons, a profusion of shirt sleeve and ruffles, with a hat of the cavalier shape (wanting only the feather), from beneath the brim of which escaped the curls of a new peruke." He wore a broad, blue, silken sash round his waist, which distinguished him from his companions.

The chief Indian sachem or king, Taminent, now approached, with other warriors, all armed and dressed in their picturesque forest costume, their bright feathers glistening in the sunshine, and their bodies painted in brilliant colours.

William Penn received them with the royal dignity and affable grace of one accustomed to European Courts, and then the sachems retired to consult among themselves as to their answer.

Soon Taminent came forward and placed upon his own head a chaplet, into which was twisted a small horn. This horn was the symbol of his authority,

and when placed on his head was a sign that the spot was sacred, and that the person of everyone present was safe from harm. All the Indians now threw down their arms, Taminent seated himself upon the ground with the older sachems beside him, and the younger warriors, having ranged themselves in a semicircle around them, Penn was told that "the nations were ready to hear and consider his words."

Penn then spoke to them in their own language, telling them that the Great Spirit, who ruled in the heaven to which good men go after death, who had made them all, and knew every thought of their hearts, was the Father of all men and wished all his children to live together not only as brothers, but as if they were joined with one head, one heart, one body together ; so that if ill was done to one all would suffer, if good was done to any all would gain. This great Spirit Penn went on to say, knew that he and his children had a strong desire to live in peace with the red men and to be their friends. He and his children, he said, never used the rifle, nor trusted to the sword ; they met the red men on the broad path of good faith and good will. They believed that their brothers of the red race were just, and they were prepared to trust in their friendship.

He then unfolded the parchment which contained the written treaty, and explained it to them sentence by sentence. It recited that, from that day, the children of Onas and the nations of the Lenni Lenapé (the Indians then assembled) should be brothers to each other, that all paths should be free and open, that the doors of the white men should be open to the red men, and the doors of the red men should be open to the white men, and that they should make each other welcome as friends ; that the children of Onas should not believe any false reports of the Lenni Lenapé, nor the Lenni Lenapé of the children of Onas, but should first come as brothers to inquire of each other, and then bury such false reports

as in a bottomless pit; that, if a quarrel arose between a white man and a red one, twelve men, six Indians and six English, should meet together and declare justice, and then the wrong should be buried as in a bottomless pit; and lastly, that both white men and Indians should tell their children of this league and chain of friendship, that it should grow stronger and stronger and be kept bright and clean, without rust or spot, while the waters ran down the creeks and rivers, and while the sun and moon and stars endured.

As each clause was read over, those who stood round accepted it with a simple "yea," "yea;" no oaths, no forms were used—"the only treaty," says Voltaire, "that the world has ever known, never sworn to and never broken."

Although William Penn bought the land from the Indians, he never wanted them to remove from it. The Indians always had equal liberty with the white men in the choice of settlements. He not only gave them the full rights of citizenship, in the benefits and protection of the laws, but he also passed several special laws in their favour, to prevent designing persons from taking advantage of their ignorance. At one time he refused a great temptation to sell the right to trade with the Indians for £6,000, lest he should abuse God's love, and, as he puts it, "so defile what came to me clean." No wonder that the Indians loved and honoured their great and good friend!

The later years of William Penn's life were shadowed by many sorrows, and we cannot do more here than take a very hasty glance at them. Those who would like to know more about him should read the very interesting life by Hepworth Dixon, from which many of the foregoing particulars have been taken, and which was carefully compiled from the most trustworthy histories, as well as from many original family letters and State papers, both English and American.

Difficulties with Lord Baltimore about the boundary line between their provinces, news of the serious illness of his wife, political troubles and renewed persecution of English Quakers, together with rumours that his enemies in England were spreading false reports against his honour and reputation, all combined to make Penn feel that he must return home at once.

Arrived in England, he had the joy of finding his wife better and his children well, but the troubles of every kind, which thickened around him, weighed on his wife's spirits, and she died in 1694, leaving him overwhelmed with sorrow. Soon afterwards his dearly loved eldest son, Springett, was taken ill with consumption, and, though he was nursed most tenderly, he grew worse and worse, and died in his father's arms in April, 1696.

Some of Penn's greatest troubles during these years arose from the friendship which had always existed between King James II. and himself. On his deathbed Admiral Penn had asked James, then Duke of York, to befriend his son, and the Duke had faithfully fulfilled this trust, protecting Penn's interests whenever it was in his power to do so. He seems really to have loved the true-hearted man, who would never flatter him, but who reproved or advised him, just as he believed was right.

Soon after Penn's return to England, Charles II. died, and the Duke of York became King. He made much of the son of his old friend, and Penn did not fail to use the influence he had with him to plead for imprisoned Quakers, or for others who were suffering unjustly. He moved to London that he might be nearer to the King, for, though he was longing to get back to Pennsylvania, he felt that God had given him a work to do in England.

James had often said that he was in favour of liberty of conscience, and Penn believed him. He did not at all like Court life, yet, when James begged him to stay, and

said that he could never succeed in securing this liberty without his help, Penn felt that he ought to yield.

His friendship with the King, however, caused great jealousy, and his enemies spread reports that he was a Jesuit in disguise. They pretended to think that this was why the King was so fond of him, for it was well known that James favoured the Roman Catholics. Moreover, Penn pleaded for religious liberty for them, as well as for all others, and people could not then understand that any one who was not himself a Catholic would do this. The issue of the Declaration of Indulgence showed that James was sincere in desiring liberty of conscience, though William Penn, in common with other good people, regretted that the King had acted on his own responsibility, without consulting Parliament.

When William of Orange became king, and James fled to France, fresh dangers gathered round Penn. He was accused of secretly writing letters to James, and trying to bring him back to England. He replied bravely and simply, "He is my friend and my father's friend. I loved him in his prosperity and cannot hate him in his adversity." "As a private person," he added, "I am willing to help him in any way I can in his exile, but I should never think of helping to replace the crown upon his head."

Nothing could be proved against him, yet he was kept under suspicion, and was deprived for a time of his government of Pennsylvania. This was a crushing blow, for not only had he spent his whole fortune on the colony, but he was alarmed for the future of his model state. His Irish estates, too, had been confiscated and he was almost ruined.

But his brave spirit rose above all trial and misfortune. He spent much of his leisure during these troublous years in the study of philosophy and in writing. One little book of maxims on the conduct of life, which he called, "Fruits of Solitude," has been very widely

read and appreciated. Robert Louis Stevenson, who picked it up by chance in San Francisco, says that it came to him as "a direct message from heaven."

Another work was entitled, "An Essay towards the present and future Peace of Europe." In this book he refers to the scheme of Henri IV., of France, in favour of a General League, and shows how very much better it would be for States, as well as for private persons, to settle their quarrels by law and justice, instead of by war. Amongst barbarous nations each man defends himself by force, and the duel was for a long time the way of revenging insults upon a man's honour, even amongst civilised people. But gradually we have come to see how wrong and foolish all this is. *Force* can never really decide a quarrel, because it does not show who is in the right, but only who is the stronger, and the one who has been beaten will always feel that he has been wronged. So, now, when private persons have a quarrel or a dispute, they bring it into a court of law, and the whole cause is heard by learned and impartial men, who try to decide rightly and to do justice. "Why," said William Penn, "should not disputes between *nations* be decided in the same way? War never decides which nation is *right*, it only shows which is the *stronger*; it costs, even to the one who wins, vast sums of money and vast numbers of lives, whole families are plunged into deep sorrow for the loss of their loved ones, and it almost always leaves behind it bitter and angry feelings."

Just as each country has its Parliament, which makes laws and is the final court of appeal for all disputes, so Penn proposed that Europe should have a Congress, made up of representative men from each country, and that this Congress should have power to settle all quarrels between nations.

Although nothing came of Penn's proposal at the time, it was a seed thought, out of which great results have grown.

During the nineteenth century more than 500 disputes between nations were settled by arbitration instead of by the sword, but each time special arrangements had to be made, and there was always a danger that war might be declared, before those who had the interests of peace at heart could interfere to prevent it.

In 1899, at the suggestion of the Czar of Russia, a Peace Conference was called at the Hague in Holland. It consisted of persons appointed to represent the different nations of the world, and at this first assembly twenty-six governments were represented.

Its most important result was the establishment of a *permanent* Court of Arbitration at the Hague, which is always ready to hear and decide disputes between nations.

Since then many European governments have made arbitration treaties with one another, promising that (with some exceptions), if disputes should arise between them, they will bring them to this Court instead of going to war.

In 1907, a second International Peace Conference was held at the Hague, at which forty-four governments were represented. It sat for four months, and discussed and made useful rules about many of the laws and customs of war.

It was decided that another conference should be held in eight years' time, and that, for two years before, the various governments should be carefully thinking over and arranging the subjects to be considered.

These conferences mark a great advance in the relations of nations to one another, and show that even between nations the reign of law is beginning to take the place of the reign of brute force. All lovers of peace must feel thankful, not only for the rules they have passed, which are making it easier to avoid war and to settle disputes peaceably, but also because the very fact of so many different races being brought together, and

talking in a friendly way about these important questions, brings the nations nearer to one another. At all the meetings, although there has often been much difference of opinion, there has always been great courtesy and kindness; and we may thankfully hope that these conferences are preparing the way for the realisation of Henri IV. and William Penn's ideals, and that we may yet see the day, when it shall be thought as wrong and barbarous for two nations to fight each other, as we think it now for two men to do so. Arbitration will then naturally take the place of war.

It is pleasant to learn that, after years of trouble, William Penn was once again fully reinstated as Governor of Pennsylvania, and that, in 1699, he was able to go out to the land he loved so much, taking with him his new wife and his daughter Letty.

Here he lived for two years, mostly at Pennsbury Manor, and would have been glad to end his days in the country and amongst the people, whose welfare he had so much at heart, but it seemed necessary in the interests of his colony that he should cross the sea again.

Before he left, the Indians came from all over the territory to say goodbye to him. They crowded the shore till his ship was out of sight, and it is said that for a hundred years afterwards the story of the departure of the great "Onas" was told to their children's children.

William Penn never saw Pennsylvania again. New troubles awaited him in England, and no doubt hastened his death. The last five or six years of his life were spent very quietly at Ruscombe in Berkshire. His greatest pleasure, during these years of declining strength, was to go out with his little children into the fields and meadows to gather flowers, and to watch them chase butterflies. His spirit was beautiful to the last, and there was always a smile upon his face.

On the 30th of July, 1718, his spirit passed away. He was buried in the quiet burying ground at Jordans

in Buckinghamshire, by the side of his first wife and his son Springett.

The sorrowing Indians, on hearing of his death, sent his widow a present of skins, that she might have a garment to shield her, "whilst passing through the thorny wilderness of the world without her guide."

From year to year the Indian chiefs assembled their followers in the woods in a spot as much like that in which the "great Onas" had spoken to them as they could find. Here they spread out the parchments which contained his words and speeches on a blanket or clean piece of bark, and repeated the whole over and over again to their great satisfaction. Although Penn never came back, his memory was held in the greatest veneration by them and their descendants, and they treated all white men more kindly for his sake. Five years after the death of Penn, a white man murdered the first red man who had ever been killed in Pennsylvania. But, such was the influence of noble example, that the Indians, who are usually noted for their revengeful spirit, themselves prayed that the murderer's life might be spared. The request was granted, but he died very soon after, and they then said that the Great Spirit had avenged their brother. The historian, Bancroft, records the striking fact that, while every other colony in the New World was visited by the horrors of Indian warfare, and even Pennsylvania did not escape after the Friends were outvoted in the Parliament and the colonists began to arm themselves, yet no drop of *Quaker* blood was ever shed by a red man in Pennsylvania, and to be a follower of Onas was at all times a passport to their protection and hospitality.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM GEORGE FOX TO OUR OWN TIMES.

WE are now entering upon a new era in the history of Quakerism.

James II.'s Declaration of Indulgence had set 1,460 Friends at liberty, and almost emptied the jails of Quaker prisoners, and when, in 1689, after the Revolution, liberty of conscience was finally granted by law to all Protestants by the Act of Toleration, the reign of persecution was over. From this time, the Quakers and other Nonconformists were at liberty to worship God according to their conscience without fear of interruption. Friends were also allowed to make a declaration of loyalty, instead of taking the oath of allegiance.

George Fox saw the dawning of this brighter day, for which he and others had worked so hard and suffered so bravely; and, when he passed away in 1691, great hopes were entertained for the future of the Society of Friends.

In the life of William Penn, we have followed the story on for a few years longer down to his death in 1718.

He was almost the last of that noble band of Quaker preachers, who had gathered round George Fox, and with him faced the storm of persecution and come off victorious, having gained freedom to worship God according to their conscience, and, amidst great difficulties, carried their message, not only throughout our own islands, but to America and many parts of the continent of Europe.

From this point we will only try to bridge over the gap between those times and our own by describing, as shortly as possible, the stages through which the Society of Friends passed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and afterwards telling the stories of two beautiful lives, as illustrations of the best and noblest in the Quakerism of their time—John Woolman, who lived in the eighteenth, and Elizabeth Fry, who lived in the first half of the nineteenth century.

At the time of George Fox's death there were at least 50,000 Friends in Great Britain and Ireland; and, now that those who joined the Society no longer had to fear persecution, we should have expected that the numbers would increase faster than ever. But we find that exactly the contrary happened. From this time the Society seems to have decreased, and, by 1800, that is in a hundred years time, there were only 20,000 Quakers left in England, and this number had grown still less by the middle of the nineteenth century. How can this strange result be explained?

The decline seems to have been due partly to the natural reaction which comes after a long conflict, and a timidity under toleration very different from the boldness shown by Friends under persecution. The struggle had indeed left the Friends victorious, but we must remember that in the course of it they had lost many of their noblest and best leaders, and there were very few able to fill their places.

In the lull which followed the forty years' storm of bitter persecution, the Quakers settled down into a quiet, peaceable and respectable sect; their industry and honesty made them prosperous, and, as they avoided the luxuries and extravagances of life, many grew rich. They were (not unreasonably) proud of their past, and—so far as we can read the eighteenth century records which have come down to us—their aim was no longer to rouse the wicked to repentance

and convince their hearers of the truth of their message of God's love and nearness ; but their energies were almost entirely confined within the borders of their own Society, and were mainly directed towards preserving their "ancient testimonies." If any Friend showed signs of departing from these, he was "dealt with" by his Monthly Meeting, and in many cases disowned.

Great stress was laid on matters of dress and speech, as is shown by the following instances given by Barclay in his "Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth" :—

"In 1703, the young women came to York Quarterly Meeting in long cloaks and bonnets, and they were therefore not only ordered to take the advice of the Elders of the particular Church [*i.e.* Meeting] to which they belonged, before they came to 'these great Meetings here in York,' but in the minutes of one Monthly Meeting it was ordered that those young women who intended to go to York were to appear before their own meeting 'in those clothes that they intend to have on at York !' "

The Overseers of the Church inspected the shops to see if "needless things were sold" by Friends, such as "lace and ribbons." They inspected the houses, from the drawing-room curtains, with other "Babylonish adornings," which were declared to be "needless," to the kitchens, whose array of "shining, needless," pewter and brass pots, pans, and candlesticks were evidently for ornament, and therefore contrary to the simplicity of the Truth. They remark very truly, that "the mind that goes from God into the world *desires* and *gets*, and is never settled nor satisfied."

In 1715, some of the young people are spoken of as having "cut off good heads of hair," and put on "long, extravagant, gay wigs"; and in fact every detail in the life of the members seems to have been under the care of the Society.

In spite of all this oversight, however, a worldly spirit continued to gain ground, and, by the year 1750, all that could be said was, that a "faithful remnant still survives," whilst "intemperance," "gaming, and frequenting playhouses" and "cockfightings" are deplored as gaining ground among the youth.

A letter from Samuel Bownas to James Wilson, of Sedbergh, dated Second Month, 1751, says:—

"When I am in London most of my old Friends are gone; so at other places, it is the same; and the young generation of this age don't seem to come up so well as could be desired. The Church seems very barren of young ministers to what it was in our youth, nor is there but very little convictionment to what was then. It seems to me (and I have been a minister fifty-four years) that I had more service, and better success in my ministry the first twenty years, than I have since had for a long time. . . . I have closely examined where the fault is, but don't find it out.

"On my last journey into your parts, it seemed to very little purpose; likewise in Norfolk, Suffolk, etc. It appeared to me that I had very good and edifying service in many places, but that is all I find come of it. 'The man spoke well,' say they, and that is all I get for my labours. Now, formerly, I rarely went a journey but I found some convictionment, and taking this into consideration makes my heart oft sad, but we must submit, for unless our Master bless our ministry, we cannot make it profitable to them."

The history of the Society of Friends during this period is only one instance of what was happening in all the Churches. All over England the early eighteenth century was a time of deadness in religion, until the stirring voices of the Wesleys and of Whitefield once more aroused men to the realities of spiritual

things. The revival which followed their preaching had some effect even within the quiet realm of Quakerism : we find a wide spread feeling of uneasiness, a sense that things were not as they should be within its borders ; and, in 1760, the Yearly Meeting appointed a Committee of many of its most earnest members to visit the Meetings all over the country to try and bring about a reform.

Unfortunately, however, although there was abundance of zeal, it was still mainly directed to external things, and there was very little revival of spiritual life. There were, however, many faithful men and women, whose loving and devoted lives were true to the ideals of the early days of Quakerism. Samuel Bownas, Edmund Peckover, John Woolman, and, passing on to rather later times, Daniel Wheeler, William Allen, Stephen Grellet, William Forster, John and Martha Yeardley, Anna Braithwaite, James Backhouse, Benjamin Seebohm and others, whose long and perilous journeys, undertaken from love to God and their fellow men, proved their faithfulness and sincerity ; John Fothergill, through whose influence Ackworth School was founded ; William and Samuel Tuke, who did so much to improve the treatment of the insane ; Joseph John Gurney, who laboured to bring the Bible back to its right place in the schools and homes of the Society ; Elizabeth Fry, the friend of the prisoners, and many others, too numerous even to mention, whose memories we rightly honour.

In the lives of these Friends a type of Quakerism was presented to the world somewhat different from that of the first period, but nevertheless of a rare beauty and strength, combining perfect dignity of manner with wonderful simplicity and sweetness. Its power lay in absolute integrity of character, due to constant obedience to the inward Guide.

The following seem to have been some of the principal causes of the decline in the Society of Friends during this period:—

1.—*The tendency to consider outside things such as speech and dress of more importance than love to God and their fellow-men.*

No one who has read about the manners of the English Court in the days of the early Stuart Kings, when the most fulsome flattery was considered only common civility, and it has been said that “the dressing of a fine lady was more complicated than rigging a ship of war,” can wonder that the Puritans and early Friends protested against such extravagances. As William Penn wrote in his “Fruits of Solitude,” “the very trimming of the vain world would clothe the naked one”; a saying which, unfortunately, is still true to-day.

The Quaker plea in regard to both speech and dress was for absolute truthfulness and sincerity. Friends did not at first adopt any special costume, but wore the dress of the day in its simplest form. At a time when feathers, ribbons and laces were profusely used both by men and women, this alone was enough to mark their dress as different from others, and so, unintentionally, something like a costume was established, which, as well as their simple mode of speech, the next generation tried to preserve, not realising that, in doing so, they were only copying the *forms* instead of living in the *spirit*.

The simple “thee” and “thou,” which the early Friends used, as being more truthful when addressed to a single person, became stereotyped into a set phraseology. The testimony for plainness in dress was explained to mean, not only simplicity, but wearing bonnets, hats and other garments of a particular cut and shape, until these things really formed a Quaker ritual, and took up far too much time and thought even amongst earnest Friends.

It is interesting to note that Margaret (Fell) Fox, in her old age, foresaw that this tendency to lay stress on outward conformity was likely to be a danger to the Society, which she loved, and for which she had suffered so much. She wrote a letter of warning to Friends, in which she says: "Legal ceremonies are far from being Gospel freedom. . . . It is a dangerous thing to lead young Friends much into the observation of outward things, which may be easily done, for they can soon get into an *outward garb to be all alike outwardly*, but this will not make them *true Christians*."

Occupied with these trivial matters, the attention of Friends was drawn from more important things, and these Quaker peculiarities had the effect especially on the young people, of shutting them off from natural and healthy intercourse with those outside the Society.

In fact, between 1750 and 1850 the Society of Friends was a very self-contained body, and its members often passed through life with very little contact with the world outside its borders.

The births of its children were entered on the Society's Register; when they were old enough to go to school, the Society provided, at Ackworth and elsewhere, all the education they were likely to need. If they married, the event was solemnised at a Friends' meeting and according to the Society's own regulations. Through the active years of life they were cut off, by law or by their religious convictions, from sharing with their neighbours in many of the common duties and interests of life. As Nonconformists they were excluded from the Universities; until 1828 they could take no part in city government; they were not admitted to Parliament until 1833. If insanity overtook a Friend, the Retreat opened its hospitable doors; and when he died, his body was laid to rest in a Friends' burying ground, and the event was recorded in the Society's Register.

During the whole course of his life, his speech, dress and mannerisms marked him off as different from those around him.

2.—*The “snare of accumulating wealth.”* This was a very real danger, as is shown by George Fox’s last message to the Morning Meeting already quoted. Friends grew rich, but felt it wrong to spend their money on art or literature. The narrow range of their activities called for little outlay of money. They had no Foreign Mission work, and, although they were interested in various philanthropic movements, they had not even any Home Mission work of their own to widen their sympathies. Shut up within themselves, many Friends became rich and comfortable and self-satisfied. This at least was the temptation; although, as we know, many withstood it, and lived beautifully simple and unselfish lives.

3.—*Birthright Membership.* In the very early days, all those who regularly attended the religious meetings of the Society were looked upon as “Friends”; and, as long as persecution continued, this was quite sufficient, for none, except those who were really sincere, would run the risk of fine or imprisonment.

We soon find, however, that some care had to be exercised, especially with regard to the business meetings. In 1701, for instance, Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting advises that young men and women, who are not of weighty and solid conduct, should be kept from attending its meetings, but the tender and honest-hearted are not to be discouraged.

The right to take part in the discipline of the Society had at first been regarded as belonging to the elders, or those of mature spiritual growth; and indeed, even after Birthright Membership had been established, until about the year 1800, or even later, young Friends were not expected to attend Monthly Meetings, unless they were invited to do so.

In 1737, the sweeping change was made by a Minute of London Yearly Meeting, which decided that "children" were "to be deemed members of the Monthly Meeting of which the father is a member," and from this time onwards "Birthright Membership," as we call it, has existed amongst Friends.* This means that, from the moment of their birth, the children of Friends are Friends themselves in name; and some think that much of the want of real life and earnestness in the Society has been, and still is, due to the fact that, whilst many grow up from a childhood of birthright membership to old age, without ever yielding to the work of the Holy Spirit in their hearts, or knowing for themselves forgiveness through Christ and fellowship with Him, they are nevertheless full members; and their influence and example may be very hurtful to the Society.

Many Friends defend our system of Birthright Membership, because they regard all members of a family as necessarily part of the Church fellowship to which the parents belong. They think that we ought to make it as easy as possible for our children to join with us in religious matters, and that, if they are made, as it were, part of the family from the first, they are much more likely to be earnest Friends when they grow up. Others think that some system of "associate" or preliminary membership, by which our children would be under the loving care of the Church, with liberty to be present at all business meetings, would enable them to realise that they had a part in the Society from the first, and would, as they grew older, bring before them the need for thoughtful consideration of the grounds of their faith; for they would not become full members, unless they themselves expressed a wish

* The Five Years Meeting of American Friends has now discontinued Birthright Membership in those Meetings which have adopted the Uniform Discipline.

to be such, and were giving proof in their lives of love to Christ and a desire to follow Him.

4.—*The fear of human learning.* This was yet another cause of decline. It is too often forgotten that, amongst the first publishers of the message of Quakerism, there were many men of competent Bible knowledge and religious training according to the standards of the time; and there were also some of exceptional learning, such as Isaac Penington, Robert Barclay and William Penn, or Margaret Fell's friend, John Stubbs, who, Sewel tells us, "was a man skilled, not only in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, but also in the Oriental languages."

Thomas Ellwood, the pupil and friend of Milton, gave this testimony to the culture of the early Friends:—"When I was a boy, I had made some good progress in learning, and lost it all again before I came to be a man, nor was I rightly sensible of my loss therein, until I came amongst the Quakers. But then I both saw my loss, and lamented it, and applied myself with utmost diligence, at all leisure times, to recover it; so false I found that charge to be, which in those times was cast as a reproach upon the Quakers, that they despised and decried all human learning, because they denied it to be essentially necessary to a Gospel ministry."

In the eighteenth century, this "reproach" actually came to be true of many Friends. The plea for a "free ministry," unhindered by clerical rules, became distorted into a "fear of human learning," that is, a fear, to some extent well-grounded, lest a man whose mind was well stored with knowledge should give his own thoughts in his preaching, instead of the message God had given him.

They seem to have forgotten that it is God who gives us our powers of thought, and that we ought to make the best we can of His gift, by taking pains to train our minds, and by storing them with all useful know-

ledge, so that we may be ready to use them in His service. To neglect to do this is to be slothful and unfaithful stewards of the talents God has given us. As John Wilhelm Rowntree well expresses it, "God never allows us to transfer to Him our share of the work to which He has called us."

This fear of human learning spread so rapidly among Friends in the early eighteenth century, that in many places the education of their children was very much neglected, and even the Bible was seldom read. The natural result of this was that there were very few who were able to speak in meeting so as to be helpful to others, and silent meetings became very common, in contrast with the early days, of which Barclay tells us that "of the many meetings of the Society there is scarce any in which God raiseth not up some or other to minister."

5.—*Disowning members for "marrying out."* Early in the eighteenth century, the practice was introduced, with most disastrous results, of disowning any member, who married one who was not a Friend. Thousands of men and women, who might have been a real strength, were lost to the Society in this way, for the practice only ceased to exist within the last forty or fifty years.

We have spoken of all these causes of decline, because of the lessons we may learn from them for to-day. They teach us that no Church can live upon its past; each generation of Christians must have fresh life from God for the needs of its own time; neither can we live as a Society by simply trying to feed and guard our own spiritual life. Life is for work and action, and will not flourish if it is shut up within itself, any more than the muscles of our body will remain strong unless we use them.

But there is a brighter side to the picture, to which we will gladly turn, for, even in the darkest days of

Quakerism, there were many pure and earnest spirits, some of whom have already been named; and, whatever their mistakes may have been, many of the Quakers of this period lived useful and godly lives, strictly honest, unswervingly truthful, full of love to God and to man.

Hannah Whitall Smith has beautifully described what it meant to be a "Friend" half a century ago, and the description will equally apply to an even earlier date. She says, "Because they believed themselves to be the friends of God, they realised that they must be in the truest sense the friends of all the creatures He had created.

"One could not fail to realise this sense of universal friendship through all the worship and work of the Society, and personally, so deeply was it impressed upon my young life, that, to this day, to be a member of the Society of Friends means to me to be everybody's friend; and, whenever there is any oppression or suffering anywhere in the world, I instinctively feel sure that among the first to hasten to the rescue will be a committee of the Society of Friends."

In 1779, largely owing to the efforts of Dr. Fothergill, Ackworth School was opened by the Yearly Meeting, as a public school for the children of the Society of Friends.

This was an important step in the right direction, at a time when the fear of human learning, of which we have already spoken, had led to a great neglect of education. The school had such an influence on the Quaker life of this period, that we must do more than give it a passing mention.

Ever since George Fox had advised the setting up of schools for boys and girls, there had been some good schools for the children of richer Friends. But there were hundreds of poorer families scattered throughout the country, who had no means of educating their

children, even if they desired to do so, except by sending them to the nearest village school. Sometimes there was no school within reach, and those there were were so poor as hardly to deserve the name. It was especially for such children that Ackworth School was intended.

The charge made per annum for "Boarding and Schooling" was £8. This included clothes, and was for a whole year, as no holidays were allowed.

Travelling was so difficult and dangerous that, whenever possible, several children from one district travelled together under the guardianship of some wise and careful Friend.

The journey was made by canal, or waggon, or coach, and often took several days. Three miles from Ackworth, at the nearest point passed by the coaches, the travellers were met by a cart, drawn (so tradition tells us) by the school bull.

Children were admitted at seven years of age, and, unless there was some special reason why they should stay longer, they left at thirteen. During the whole of their school life, they never went home, and a letter once every three or four months was probably all the home news they received. Sometimes they were so much changed that their parents did not know them when they came home.

They were taught reading, writing and arithmetic, and the girls also "housewifery and useful needlework." This included spinning and knitting, both of which occupied a large part of their time.

In 1805, a great advance was made by adding Geography and English Grammar to the studies, and we are told that the Geography proved "a delightful change" in the dulness of the daily routine.

Everything was taught so thoroughly that the school soon came to be considered one of the best in the country, and was usually full to overflowing. It had been planned for 300 children.

William Howitt, writing, after a visit to Ackworth in 1827, of his own schoolboy recollections of twenty years earlier, gives many interesting particulars of Ackworth life at that time. He says:—"We had children from all parts of the United Kingdom, from Guernsey, America and Russia. The generation of lads which preceded us had been of a bold and insubordinate cast; they seemed to us to have 'been giants in the land,' and the traditions of their exploits were our themes of fear and wonder. They had elected a king; it was he who dared to climb the highest up a leaden spout in the corner of the pediment, by the Committee Room, and there cut his initials; I observe they are there to this day.

"The masters were strongly marked characters. There was the senior reading master—a little, stiff man, with a round, well-fed face, and a very dry and sibilant voice. His hat was always three-cocked, his clothes always dark brown, his gaiters black. We looked upon him with awe; for he had been a naval captain, and had heard the roar of battle, as one of his legs testified, having had the calf blown away by a cannon shot. Worthy old man!—in our anger we called him Tommy Codger, and forgot the Pomfret cakes which he always carried in his pocket, to bestow if he heard a cough—and he heard many a one—as he went his evening round through the bedchambers, when on duty. At the bottom of our souls, however, we loved him; and he was more worthy of our love than we knew, for he had abandoned bright prospects in his profession, and encountered knowingly and undauntedly, scorn and poverty, from his conviction of the anti-Christianity of war."

After describing the pleasures of their gardens and the grand sliding in winter on the "flagged walk," W. Howitt continues: "What are all their within-bound enjoyments, however, to their monthly rural

walks ? To a stranger, nevertheless, in my time, they must have presented a most laughable spectacle on these expeditions. The bell rang—they ran to collect in the shed—they drew up in two long lines, facing each other, perhaps two yards apart : large wicker baskets were brought forth from the storeroom, piled with hats of all imaginable shapes and species ; for they were such as had been left by the boys from the commencement of the Institution ; they wear none except at these times. These, without ceremony, were popped upon the boys at random—little ones were sticking on the very summits of great round-headed boys, ready to fall off at the first move—and great ones dropping over the noses of little ones ; away they went, however, as happy and picturesque as possible. And oh ! the pleasant memories I have of these excursions ! The moving along green and bowering lanes, past cottages and cottage gardens ; past groups of villagers all radiant with smiles—and well they might be ; past great waters and woods and gentlemen's houses, to a common—such a common ! It seems to me that it was boundless, and full of all sorts of pleasant and wonderful things.”

His account ends with the following description of the closing meeting of the Annual General Meeting in 1827 :—

“Twenty-one ministers, about an equal number of each sex, occupied the whole length of the gallery in front of the meeting. Around the meeting-house sat the Friends, and in the centre was left empty the space for the children, who soon made their appearance. The girls, entering at one door, moving up the meeting with gentle steps, all uniformly arrayed in their white caps and tippets, which gave, as they dropped successively, regularly and silently in their places, the fanciful idea of a fall of snow.

“Then the boys entered by another door, and filled up their seats in the same manner, coming on and on,

as if they would have no end. At length, when all were assembled, a deep and impressive silence fell over the whole. . . . The spirit of Christian union and affection seemed to hover over the meeting, and was poured forth in the eloquence of solemn and fervent addresses. The meeting closed, the different groups departed, and I among the rest, feeling as I cast a last glance on this interesting place, that I had not only a blessing to leave with it, but that I carried one away with me."

The success of Ackworth School led to other schools being started on similar lines, and Friends became noted for the care which they gave to the education of their children.

In the attention given to nature study and to out-of-school pursuits, our schools have held a foremost place, and in some other directions Friends have been amongst the leaders in providing better education for the people.

A young Friend schoolmaster, Joseph Lancaster, was so successful in developing a system of teaching through monitors in schools for poor children, that his work attracted much attention, and won the sympathy and interest of King George III. Lancaster maintained that Christians of all sects should unite in furthering the work of national education. "A national evil," he urged, "requires a national remedy. Let not this be any longer delayed. Let your minds expand, free from every narrow principle, and let the public good be the sole object of your united Christian efforts." One result of his work was the formation of the British and Foreign School Society in 1808, to afford education, procure employment and, "so far as possible, to furnish clothing to the children of the poorer subjects of King George III."

It would take too long to tell of all the activities of Friends in the early years of the nineteenth century.

Many of them helped Wilberforce in the struggle which finally, in 1807, put an end to England's trade in slaves. But, although the slave trade was stopped, it was still lawful to hold slaves in many parts of the British dominions, and Joseph Sturge, Joseph John Gurney and many other Friends joined with Sir T. F. Buxton and Thomas Clarkson in an active campaign against this evil. In 1833, the Emancipation Act was passed; but it allowed a system of apprenticeship, which was almost as bad as slavery itself. Joseph Sturge, Thomas Harvey and a few others sailed for the West Indies to examine the facts on the spot, and came home resolved to fight against the system until it was overthrown. On the 23rd of May, 1838, a resolution was moved in the House of Commons, "That negro apprenticeship in the British Colonies should immediately cease," and was carried by a majority of *three* votes. The galleries were crowded with Friends and others, and Sir T. F. Buxton, writing of the event, said, "The intelligence was received with such a shout by the Quakers (myself among the number), that we strangers were all turned out for rioting. I am right glad."

It was not only the cause of the oppressed abroad that was championed by the Friends of this period. In England the working classes were suffering under the strain of long hours, low wages and heavy taxation. Bread was at famine prices. Many Friends, in common with other thinking people, believed that the remedy lay in free trade and in extending the franchise, and they worked hard for both these objects.

In 1833, Joseph Pease, who had been returned to Parliament as member for South Durham, was allowed to take his seat on making an affirmation instead of taking the usual oath. A new avenue of service was thus opened to Friends, in which many have since found the right opportunity for the use of their talents and influence. This was especially the case with

John Bright, who, entering Parliament in 1843, was foremost with Richard Cobden in opposing the Corn Laws and securing cheap bread for the people.

These pioneers in public service have done much to make us realise that to-day Christianity requires from all its followers a true spirit of citizenship, and that we ought not from timidity or laziness to shun the problems of life, but should seek to make our influence felt in everything that affects the well being of our towns and our country, as well as of that wider citizenship of the world to which all nations belong.

It was during these years also that, under the leadership of Elizabeth Fry, Friends took such an active part in prison reform; and that York Retreat was opened, the first step taken in England towards the rational treatment of the insane.

The British and Foreign Bible Society, founded in 1804, was another work which from the very beginning was warmly supported by Friends. But for all these objects it was individual Friends who worked, often with those of other Churches; and, down to the middle of the nineteenth century, Friends as a Society, had almost no mission work, either at home or abroad.

In 1851, the editor of "Select Miscellanies," Wilson Armistead, writes, "Oh, for a zeal like that which actuated our predecessors 200 years ago! They were not content with inaction; they buckled on the armour of righteousness, and attacked error with energy and effect. Will the time ever come again, when each true Quaker shall shake the neighbourhood for ten miles around? Alas! we are now counted among the quiet and easy of the land! 'Why stand ye here all the day idle? go ye also into the vineyard.'"

Already the spirit which prompted these words was making itself felt, and, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, a new wave of energy seemed to

sweep over the Society of Friends, and their sympathies widened out in many directions.

It would be impossible in a little book like this to follow the history of the Society, even in outline, all over the world. Quakerism in America alone would need volumes to itself, and even in England there is very much that we must leave untold. We will try, however, in our chapters XVIII. and XIX., "What Friends are doing at Home," and "What Friends are doing Abroad," to sum up shortly what has been done by *English* Friends in each of these fields, and then in our closing chapter we will gather a few particulars of Quakerism the world over, and from these and from the history of the past try to find out what is our position and responsibility to-day, and our hope for the future.

CHAPTER XVI.

JOHN WOOLMAN.

WE will now tell in some detail the story of John Woolman's life, because it is a pure and noble example of the best Quakerism of the eighteenth century, and because John Woolman was the great pioneer of the social service which is rightly taking so large a place in Christian life to-day.

His own humble words were wonderfully fulfilled in his life: "Some glances of real beauty may be seen in their faces who dwell in true meekness."

As his home was in America, his life will also help to remind us that there was a large body of Friends in that country as well as in England.

His Journal, at first sight, seems only the quiet and uneventful story of an obscure and humble-minded man, but, as we study it, we become aware that it reveals a life of wonderful power, because united to the Divine love and enlarged towards mankind universally.

He has himself told us one or two stories of his childhood.

"I was born," he says, "in Northampton, in Burlington County, West Jersey, in the year 1720. Before I was seven years old I began to be acquainted with the operations of Divine love. Through the care of my parents, I was taught to read nearly as soon as I was capable of it; and, as I went from school one day, I remember that, while my companions were playing by the way, I went forward out of sight, and, sitting down, I read the Twenty-second Chapter of Revelation: 'He

showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb,' etc. In reading it, my mind was drawn to seek after that pure habitation, which I then believed God had prepared for His servants. The place where I sat, and the sweetness that attended my mind, remain fresh in my memory. This, and the like gracious visitations, had such an effect upon me that when boys used ill-language it troubled me ; and through the continued mercies of God, I was preserved from that evil."

Another time, as he was going to a neighbour's house, he saw a robin sitting on her nest and thoughtlessly threw stones at her until one struck her and she fell down dead. At first he was pleased with the exploit, but in a few minutes was filled with horror at having killed an innocent creature, especially as he feared her young ones must also die for want of their mother's care. After thinking the matter over, he decided that it would be kinder to kill the young ones than to leave them to pine away and die miserably. So he climbed up the tree, took all the young birds and killed them, and then went on his errand, full of sorrow for the cruelty he had committed.

This was the only unkind act he ever did. The remembrance of that mother-bird and her young ones stayed with him through life, and made him very tender towards all living creatures. On his voyage to England he was troubled about the fowls taken by the passengers for food, noticing how they pined on board and many died of sickness. All through his journeys in England he travelled on foot, because the stage coaches frequently went "upwards of one hundred miles in twenty-four hours," and he had heard Friends say that it was "common for horses to be killed with hard using, and that many others were driven, till they grew blind." With him, love to God included love for all the creatures God has made.

When about sixteen years old, John Woolman, as he expresses it, "gave way to youthful vanities," and for the next two years suffered much, as all do, who have felt the call to the higher life and yet are unwilling to leave the lower. Writing of these years he says, "Though I was preserved from profane language or scandalous conduct, yet I perceived a plant in me which produced much wild grapes; my merciful Father did not, however, forsake me utterly, but at times, through His grace, I was brought seriously to consider my ways, and the sight of my backslidings affected me with sorrow, yet, for want of rightly attending to the reproofs of instruction, vanity was added to vanity, and repentance to repentance."

This state of things continued for about two years, and his Journal describes the "sore conflict" he passed through, before he was made willing to give up all for Christ, and "to bow down in spirit before the Lord." Then, he tells us, "I felt the power of Christ prevail over selfish desires, and I was strengthened to keep from such company as had often been a snare to me."

All this time he had been living with his parents, working on his father's plantation, and spending his evenings and other leisure time in continuing his studies; but when he was twenty years old he had an offer from a man in much business as a shop keeper and baker to "tend shop and keep books" for him, and with his father's approval John Woolman accepted this position.

The man who employed him furnished a shop at Mount Holly, about five or six miles on the road between his own home and the Woolmans' house, and here John lived alone and looked after the shop.

Whittier tells us that "Mount Holly is a village lying in the western part of the long narrow township of Northampton, on Rancocas Creek, a tributary of the Delaware. In John Woolman's day it was almost entirely a settlement of Friends. A very few of the

old houses with their quaint stoops or porches are left. That occupied by John Woolman was a small, plain, two story structure, with two windows in each story in front, a four-barred fence enclosing the grounds, with the trees he planted and loved to cultivate. The house was not painted but whitewashed."

Here John Woolman was visited by many of his former acquaintances, who supposed that "vanities" would be as pleasing to him now as ever; but he cried to the Lord for strength and wisdom, and they soon left off expecting him as one of their company, and he began to be known to some who were very helpful to him.

And now, having himself experienced the love of God in Christ, his heart went out towards those who did not yet know the joy of a whole-hearted surrender, and he soon felt that he had a message to some of these in meeting.

The first time he spoke, however, he did not, he tells us, keep "close to the Divine opening," but said more than was required of him. This so troubled and humbled him that he was for some weeks without any light or comfort, but at last found forgiveness and peace. After this, he learned more clearly to distinguish between the voice of God and his own imaginings, and found that he must "wait in silence sometimes many weeks together," until he was prepared, as he puts it, "to stand like a trumpet, through which the Lord speaks to His flock."

Whilst living at Mount Holly, he had what he describes as "many fresh and heavenly openings," and, as he followed obediently the divine Voice, we find that he saw clearly many things that were wrong in the ways of the world around him, and was used, though so young, as a witness against them.

Thus, when only twenty-two, he was saddened with the custom of excessive drinking at Christmas, and felt

he ought to go to the master of one public-house, where he had seen much disorder, and speak to him about it. He considered how young he was, and that there were many older Friends, who could see these things and speak better than he, but could not feel himself excused, and so at last he went, and in the fear of God told the man what rested on his mind.

Another time, his employer, having a negro woman, sold her, and asked John Woolman to write a bill of sale, whilst the man waited who had bought her. The thing was sudden; and though he felt uneasy at writing an instrument of slavery for a fellow creature, he considered that he was hired by the year, and that it was his master who commanded it, and that the man who was buying her was an elderly Friend, and so "through weakness" he gave way, and wrote it, but not without telling both his master and the Friend that he believed "slave-keeping to be a practice inconsistent with the Christian religion." He afterwards felt sorry that he had not altogether refused.

This incident was the starting point of his life-long testimony against slavery. He never again wrote a bill of sale of this kind, nor made a will by which negroes were left in slavery, although he was often asked to do so, and it was a great trial to him to offend others, or to seem to condemn what they thought right. As he was faithful, however, his simple obedience was wonderfully blessed in opening the eyes of Friends to the evil of slavery, and his humble opinion of himself and large hearted charity for others made people willing to receive his message.

We must remember that at this time in the American Colonies slavery was the common practice of the country, and was thought to be quite necessary for the working of the large plantations. The number of slaves held by Friends was very large, and very few had as yet lifted up their voices against it.

In 1746, John Woolman visited Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, and recorded that slavery appeared to him "as a dark gloominess overhanging the land." Three years later he again visited these southern Meetings of Friends.

Travelling as a minister of the Gospel, he often sat down at the tables of slave-holding planters, who were accustomed to entertain their friends free of cost, and could not understand his scruples against receiving freely the food and lodging which he looked upon as having been gained by the oppression of the slaves.

Wherever he went, he found his fellow-members entangled in the wrong of slavery. Elders and ministers, as well as the younger and less esteemed, all had their slaves.

In love and meekness, but with great faithfulness, he laboured, wherever he went, to convince the masters of their error and to awaken sympathy for the slaves.

In his Journal he has described one way in which he bore his testimony, which must have been painful both for him and his hosts. He says, "When I expected soon to leave a Friend's house where I had entertainment, if I believed that I should not keep clear from the gain of oppression without leaving money, I spoke to one of the heads of the family privately, and desired them to accept of pieces of silver, and give them to such of their negroes as they believed would make the best use of them; and at other times I gave them to the negroes myself, as the way looked clearest to me. Before I came out, I had provided a large number of small pieces for this purpose, and thus offering them to some who appeared to be wealthy people was a trial both to me and them. But the fear of the Lord so covered me at times that my way was made easier than I expected; and few, if any, manifested any resentment at the offer, and most of them, after some conversation, accepted of them."

About the year 1688, a German Doctor of Law, Francis Daniel Pastorius, who had emigrated to America and there joined Friends, had drawn up a memorial against slave-holding, which was adopted by his Meeting of Germantown, and sent up to the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia. This was the first protest made by any religious Society against negro slavery.

Woolman's protest was made seventy years later ; but he had to face much the same misunderstanding and prejudice as Pastorius had done, and this has been so well described by Whittier, in his poem, "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim," that we will quote some verses here.

The poem describes Anna Pastorius waiting at sunset in her garden for the return of her husband from a meeting, before which he had laid his plea for the slaves.

"Again she looked : between green walls of shade,
With low-bent head as if with sorrow weighed,
Daniel Pastorius slowly came and said,

" ' God's peace be with thee, Anna ! ' Then he stood
Silent before her, wrestling with the mood
Of one who sees the evil and not good.

" ' What is it, my Pastorius ? ' As she spoke,
A slow, faint smile across his features broke,
Sadder than tears. ' Dear heart,' he said, ' our folk

" ' Are even as others. Yea, our goodliest Friends
Are frail ; our elders have their selfish ends,
And few dare trust the Lord to make amends

" ' For duty's loss. So even our feeble word
For the dumb slaves the startled meeting heard
As if a stone its quiet waters stirred ;

" ' And, as the clerk ceased reading, there began
A ripple of dissent, which downward ran
In widening circles, as from man to man.

“ ‘ Somewhat was said of running before sent,
Of tender fear that some their guide outwent,
Troublers of Israel. I was scarce intent

“ ‘ On hearing, for behind the reverend row
Of gallery Friends, in dumb and piteous show,
I saw, methought, dark faces full of woe.

“ ‘ And, in the spirit, I was taken where
They toiled and suffered ; I was made aware
Of shame and wrath and anguish and despair !

“ ‘ And while the meeting smothered our poor plea
With cautious phrase, a Voice there seemed to be,
“ As ye have done to these ye do to Me ! ”

“ ‘ So it all passed ; and the old tithe went on
Of anise, mint and cumin, till the sun
Set, leaving still the weightier work undone.’ ”

“ Anna ” tries to cheer him, pointing him to an aloe
in their garden, and reminding him how

“ ‘ Year by year its patient leaves unfold,
Till the young eyes that watched it first are old.

“ ‘ But some time, thou hast told me, there shall come
A sudden beauty, brightness and perfume ;
The century-moulded bud shall burst in bloom.

“ ‘ So may the seed which hath been sown to-day
Grow with the years, and, after long delay,
Break into bloom, and God’s eternal Yea

“ ‘ Answer at last the patient prayers of them
Who now, by faith alone, behold its stem
Crowned with the flowers of Freedom’s diadem.’

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“ Then through the vine-draped door, whose legend read,
‘ Procul este profani ! ’ Anna led
To where their child upon his little bed

“ Looked up and smiled. ‘ Dear heart,’ she said, ‘ if we
Must bearers of a heavy burden be,
Our boy, God willing, yet the day shall see,
“ ‘ When, from the gallery to the farthest seat,
Slave and slave-owner shall no longer meet,
But all sit equal at the Master’s feet.’ ”

In 1758, John Woolman attended the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia, under such a weight of concern for the poor slaves, that he sat bowed down and silent during the whole meeting, while other matters were being discussed. His labours were already beginning to bear fruit ; Friends had begun to think about the question, and it was hoped by those interested that some definite action might be taken by this meeting.

When the important subject came up, John Woolman waited until others had spoken, and then made a most solemn and weighty appeal to Friends against letting their private interests stand in the way of what they saw to be right. He carried the meeting so far with him that a Minute was unanimously passed, recommending that Friends who held slaves should “ set them at liberty, making a Christian provision for them ; ” and four Friends, of whom John Woolman was one, were appointed to visit all the Friends in the Yearly Meeting who kept slaves, and, if possible, persuade them to set them free.

This difficult duty was faithfully performed, but John Woolman tells us very little about his own work. From another report, however, we learn how very hard it must have been. *One Friend in one Quarterly Meeting visited the owners of 1,100 slaves. One elderly man said he had brought up eleven slaves well, and “ now they must work to maintain him.” Another owns it is all wrong, but “ cannot release his slaves ; ” a third has fifty slaves, knows it to be wrong, but “ can’t see his way clear out of it ” ; a fourth is full of “ excuses and reasonings.”*

The visits were, however, the means of arousing many to the evils of slavery, and, after several years more of faithful work in the cause of the negroes, the conscience of the Society of Friends was so thoroughly awakened that, in 1776, the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia directed its subordinate Meetings to "deny the right of membership to such as persisted in holding their fellow-men as property," and from that time onwards Friends were the leaders in the movement for gaining liberty for the slaves.

The wonderful thing about John Woolman is that, although all around him he saw the appalling magnitude of the evil of slavery, and how its roots had wound their way among the very foundations of society, yet he never seems to have doubted for a moment the power of simple truth to root it out, nor to have hesitated as to his own duty about it. His life was an example of the truth, to which Friends have again and again borne witness, that light upon great subjects first arises and is gradually spread through the faithfulness of individuals in acting up to their own convictions.

This was the same in regard to his testimony for a simple life. He was so anxious not to let his business hinder his work for the Lord that, when he had lived for some years with his employer at Mount Holly, he gave up his place there, in order to find one that would be attended with less "cumber" than the shop and merchandise.

So he set himself to learn tailoring, thinking "by this trade to get a living in a plain way, without the load of great business." "I was," he says, "taught to be content with it, though I felt at times a disposition that would have sought for something greater; but by the revelation of Jesus Christ I had seen the happiness of humility, and there was an earnest desire in me to enter deeply into it."

He saw that all wealth that was gained by any form of oppression has come through impure channels, and he

would have none of it. He wept at the table of a rich Friend over the vessels of gold and silver in which water was offered to him, and declined to drink except from an earthenware cup; he paused at the foot of a flight of stairs unwilling to ascend, until it was explained to him that the stair rods were only brass, not gold as he had supposed; he wore undyed garments, because he believed that dyes were invented partly to please the eye and partly to hide dirt, and that the practice of dyeing was contrary to true cleanliness; and he endured the miseries of a steerage passage to England in those days of slow sailing, because the saloon cabin was ornamented and furnished in a way which he thought needlessly luxurious, and he "felt a scruple with regard to paying money to be applied to such a purpose."

During this passage in the steerage he was much with the sailors and sympathised with their discomforts and temptations.

On landing in London, John Woolman went straight to the Yearly Meeting, which was already sitting. Coming in late and unannounced in his peculiar dress, and after a hasty toilet in the crowded steerage, his appearance made Friends hesitate to receive him, and, although he produced his certificate from Friends in America, one Friend seems to have voiced the feeling of the Meeting by remarking "that perhaps the stranger Friend might feel that his dedication to the service was accepted, and that he might now feel free to return home." John Woolman sat silent, seeking for heavenly wisdom. At last he rose and said that he could not feel free from his prospect of service in England, but neither could he travel without the unity of English Friends. He was acquainted with a trade, and hoped Friends would be kindly willing to employ him, that he might not be chargeable to any, until the difficulty was removed.

Friends were touched by the wise simplicity of the stranger's words and manner, and when, after a silence.

John Woolman felt words given him to speak as a minister of Christ, the spirit of his Master bore witness to them in the hearts of his hearers. All doubt was removed, and he passed on to his work with the full sympathy of his Friends.

In his travels through England, he was greatly troubled to find many Friends using "superfluities" in their dress, and in the furniture of their houses. He reasoned that drunkenness and other wickedness were common amongst the poor, not so much because they were naturally bad, as because they had to work so hard to produce luxuries for those who lived in idleness, that they had no opportunity for decency, or leisure for thought.

His "Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich" is a masterpiece of clear reasoning on the relations between capital and labour, luxury and poverty, which we should do well to study to-day.

Without quoting his exact words, we may sum up his teaching on the important subject of the stewardship of wealth as follows :—

Every luxury and every demand for money, not consistent with a large-hearted love for all men, has some connection with the spirit of oppression.

Everything we enjoy is given to us in trust to use it for the good of others. Our place among men is a place of duty, and, the more we have given to us, the greater is our trust and our responsibility.

When we look at property in this light, we see that it is only to be desired, if we feel that we have a gift of stewardship so as to use it wisely and well. We are not really the owners of the land, or money, or talents given us, but only stewards of these things, called upon by our Lord to occupy till He come. It should be our wish that everyone who is honest may have just that share of the heavenly bounty which he is capable of using for the good of all. Men of small ability will have

small gifts and a small degree of care, those of larger powers of stewardship will have larger gifts and a large degree of care. And thus to abide in the spirit of love, and to enjoy a comfortable living in this world, equally with the rest of our fellow-men, will be the only worldly aim of those who seek to live and walk by the Spirit.

After four months of travel in England he caught the smallpox and died at York in 1772, far from his dearly-loved wife and children, but in perfect peace, for he could say, "I believe my being here is in the wisdom of Christ."

In our own day, no Friend has done more to show forth the beauty of the simple life than the Quaker poet, John Greenleaf Whittier. Himself a man of lofty ideals, coupled with great simplicity of life, he had a true appreciation of John Woolman. He expresses this very fully in his Introduction to "The New Century Edition" of Woolman's Journal; and his poem "The Quaker of the Olden Time," reads so much as if John Woolman were present to his thoughts, sitting as it were to have his portrait taken, that it seems appropriate to quote it here.

THE QUAKER OF THE OLDEN TIME.

The Quaker of the olden time !
 How calm and firm and true,
 Unspotted by its wrong and crime,
 He walked the dark earth through.
 The lust of power, the love of gain,
 The thousand lures of sin
 Around him, had no power to stain
 The purity within.

With that deep insight, which detects
 All great things in the small,
 And knows how each man's life affects
 The spiritual life of all,

He walked by faith and not by sight,
By love and not by law ;
The presence of the wrong or right
He rather felt than saw.

He felt that wrong with wrong partakes,
That nothing stands alone,
That whoso gives the motive, makes
His brother's sin his own.
And, pausing not for doubtful choice
Of evils great or small,
He listened to that inward voice
Which called away from all.

O Spirit of that early day,
So pure and strong and true,
Be with us in the narrow way
Our faithful fathers knew.
Give strength the evil to forsake,
The cross of Truth to bear,
And love and reverent fear to make
Our daily lives a prayer.

CHAPTER XVII.

ELIZABETH FRY.

THE story of Elizabeth Fry will give us a good idea of Quaker life during the sixty years which followed John Woolman's death, and of the place of influence and service which women have always held in the Society of Friends.

Her father, John Gurney, of Norwich, was a banker ; a clever, broad-minded and benevolent man, very courteous and popular. Her mother, Catharine Gurney, was a grand-daughter of Barclay, the Apologist, and was a cultured and spiritually-minded woman.

Elizabeth Fry thus recalls her childhood :—" My earliest recollections are, I should think, soon after I was two years old ; my father at that time had two houses, one in Norwich, and one in Bramerton, a sweet country place, situated on a common, near a pretty village ; here, I believe, many of my early tastes were formed, though we left it to reside at Earlham, when I was about five years old. The impressions then received remain lively on my recollection ; the delight in the beauty and wild scenery in parts of the common, the trees, the flowers, and the little rills, that abounded on it, the farm houses, the village school, and the different poor people and their cottages ; particularly a poor woman with one arm, whom we called one-armed Betty ; another neighbour, Greengrass, and her strawberry beds round a little pond ; our gardener, who lived near a large piece of water, and used to bring fish from it ; here, I think, my great love for the country,

the beauties of nature, and attention to the poor began.

“My mother was most dear to me, and the walks she took with me in the old-fashioned garden, are as fresh with me [she writes at forty-eight years of age] as if only just passed ; and her telling me about Adam and Eve being driven out of Paradise ; I always considered it must be just like our garden at Bramerton.”

The family consisted of five sons and seven daughters, of whom Elizabeth was the third. One son died in infancy. Earlham Hall, to which they removed in 1786, was a beautiful old house, in a well-wooded park with a river running through it. Here Elizabeth or “Betsy,” as she was called, grew up into a very “sweet and pleasing girl,” with a “profusion of soft flaxen hair.” She was gentle, timid and reserved ; but not fond of study, and very self-willed and determined.

When she was only twelve years old, their happy home was clouded by the death of their dearly beloved mother, of whom she writes thus :—“My mother trained us up in the fear and love of the Lord. . . . I now remember the solemn religious feelings I had whilst sitting in silence with her, after reading the Scriptures, and a Psalm before we went to bed. I have no doubt that her prayers were not in vain in the Lord. The remembrance of her illness and death is sad, even to the present day.”

At this time in the history of the Society of Friends, all those who were the most earnest and who held any important position, such as Minister, Elder or Overseer, wore the plain Quaker dress and used the plain Quaker speech. They did not allow music in their homes, nor even pictures, and kept away from all places of public amusement. There were quite a number of “Friends,” and many of them very good people, who did not follow these Quaker customs, but they were mostly those who had remained Friends because they

were "birthright members," although they were not themselves convinced of Friends' views of truth, and they rarely took much active part in the work of the Society. For one of these to adopt the plain dress and speech was to make a public confession that he or she had become "convinced," and was willing to be an active, and no longer merely a nominal Friend.

John and Catharine Gurney were not "plain Friends," and their children were allowed to learn music and even dancing. In fact, they seem to have mixed in the gay and fashionable society of Norwich very much as any other young people of good family would have done. Elizabeth kept a diary, as many girls did at that time, and in it she chronicles her enjoyment of the oratorio, hearing the band play, and a visit from "the Prince," as well as many soul conflicts,—dissatisfaction with herself, good resolutions to be less worldly, more diligent, more good-tempered, and a longing, again and again repeated, for "true religion," which she believes would be a "real comfort and support."

Their mother on her deathbed had solemnly entrusted all the younger children to the care of her eldest daughter Catharine, then a girl of seventeen. She faithfully tried to fill a mother's place to them, and they all looked up to her with love and trust. In one of Elizabeth's letters to a sister, she expresses her wonder that they are not all "much nicer considering *what* a sister they have in dear Kitty."

Although the Gurney family did not keep to Quaker customs in many ways, they regularly attended the Friends' meeting at Norwich on First-day morning. The meetings were not always very profitable times to the young people, and Elizabeth often excused herself on the ground of ill-health.

One morning, however, in February, 1798, when she was seventeen years old, she heard a sermon there

which reached her heart and changed the whole course of her life. Her sister, Richenda, thus describes the meeting :—

“On that day, we, seven sisters, sat as usual in a row, under the gallery ; I sat by Betsy. William Savery [an American Friend] was there ; we liked having Yearly Meeting Friends come to preach ; it was a little change. Betsy was generally rather restless at meeting ; and on this day, I remember her very smart boots were a great amusement to me ; they were purple, laced with scarlet.

“At last William Savery began to preach. His voice and manner were arresting, and we all liked the sound ; her attention became fixed ; at last I saw her begin to weep, and she became a good deal agitated. As soon as meeting was over, I have a remembrance of her making her way to the men’s side of the meeting, and having found my father, she begged him if she might dine with William Savery at the Grove [her Uncle Joseph Gurney’s house], to which he soon consented, though rather surprised by the request.”

Elizabeth’s own account of the effect upon her was that now she “felt that there is a God.” She had “much serious conversation” with William Savery afterwards, and says, “What he said, and what I felt, was like a refreshing shower, falling upon earth that had been dried up for ages. It has not made me unhappy ; I have felt ever since humble.”

Her great fear was that excitement and not truth was the cause of her feelings, and, with a real wish to “prove all things” and “hold fast that which is good,” she asked her father to take her to London for a visit of two months.

Here she entered with all the zest of a young girl into the gaiety and novelty of a London season, in the best society, in which she was well fitted to shine.

She was introduced to some of the most distinguished men and women of the day, went to the play, continued her dancing lessons, had her hair dressed, and "felt like a monkey," called on the great actress, Mrs. Siddons, went to the opera, and met the Prince of Wales; but, side by side with all this gaiety, she frequently attended the Friends' meeting and saw and heard William Savery.

She tells us that this visit to London "was like the casting die" in her life. On her return home she definitely, of her own free will, gave up attending all places of public amusement, believing that there was so much moral danger for those who had to act or otherwise provide the amusement, that, even if it did her no harm to go, she ought to discourage such places for the sake of others.

From this time also, she gradually adopted the speech and dress of a "plain" Friend. She first laid aside all ornament, then she chose quiet colours and had her dresses made very simply, and finally, in about a year's time, we find her with a white muslin cap tied beneath her chin, a handkerchief folded over her shoulders, and fully dressed in the sober Quaker garb.

Her family did not at all like this change, and it was hard to her to have their disapproval; but she felt it to be the path of obedience to the voice of God's spirit, and, when her father and brothers and sisters saw how strongly she believed it to be right, they left off opposing her.

The change in her life was not only in these outward things. She herself tells us that between the ages of fourteen and seventeen she "seldom or never thought of religion," but was "flirting, idle, rather proud and vain," and "wrapt up in trifles." From the time when God became a reality in her life, she tried most earnestly to correct her faults, and set to work to see

what she could do to improve her own mind and to help other people.

She began visiting the sick, taking lessons in French, reading logic and Barclay's "Apology," and before long decided to invite some of the village children on Sunday evenings, so that she might read the Bible with them and teach them. Her first pupil was a little boy named "Billy," but the numbers increased so rapidly, that it was soon inconvenient to have them in the house, and a vacant laundry was used as their schoolroom. Here, for about two years, she had a class of seventy children, without any help, and with none of the picture books or other teachers' aids of the present day, but she succeeded in keeping them in perfect order, teaching them a great deal, and winning their life-long affection.

On the 19th of August, 1800, Elizabeth Gurney was married at the Friends' Meeting-house in Norwich to Joseph Fry, and a new period of her life began.

Her husband was the junior partner in an extensive business in London, and, as was the custom at that time, took his bride to live at the business house in St. Mildred's Court, in the City. It was a large, airy house and very quiet, but a great change from the beautiful grounds and country surroundings of Earlham.

The Frys were "plain" Friends, and the young wife being thrown a good deal amongst her husband's relations, found that she was now looked upon as the gay and worldly member of the family. This was a new experience, and she was often troubled lest, in her desire to please all, she should fail to keep close to her Heavenly Guide.

During the eight years that Joseph and Elizabeth Fry lived at Mildred's Court, their five eldest children were born, and the mother was naturally very busy at home and had not much time or strength for outside duties, although, even during these years, she interested herself in the poor and suffering, and seems also to have

been often called upon for help, when there was sickness either in her own or her husband's family.

After the death of her husband's father in 1808, Joseph Fry, as the eldest son, moved with his wife and children to the old and beautiful family house at Plashet.

To Elizabeth Fry this was a delightful change from the smoke and noise of London. She was a great lover of nature, and the country sights and sounds were often a real refreshment to her spirit. She was very fond of gardening, and in her spare hours gradually filled the extensive grounds of Plashet with wild flowers. Her tall, graceful figure, followed by two or three little ones carrying trowels and baskets, became a familiar sight. Of all flowers she loved the primrose best, and she and her "little gardeners" filled every nook and corner with them.

Her life at Plashet, as it had been in London, was filled with home duties and work for those around her. But it would take too long to tell of all the plans she started for helping others. She opened a school for about seventy girls at East Ham; made friends with a company of gypsies, who encamped every year in a green lane near her home, and visited a miserable hamlet called "Irish Row," where pigs, poultry and children all lived together in dirt and squalor.

She did not begin by preaching to them, but by entering with loving sympathy into their troubles and difficulties, sending nourishing food to the sick, and encouraging more order and neatness by little gifts of clothing. Gradually a great change was brought about, and she was able to speak to them of the love of God and of Christ their Saviour, who could satisfy the desires for good which had been awakened in their hearts.

Her kindness and generosity towards these poorer neighbours were almost unlimited. She once lent her own cow to a poor woman who wanted extra milk for sale. When her husband saw it being driven out of

Plashet gate, he said, "My dear, what *will* be lent next?"

It was soon after removing to Plashet that Elizabeth Fry first spoke as a minister of the Gospel. She seems to have felt for some time before this, that she would be called to tell others what she herself had known and tasted of the love of God, but she had a great dread of speaking in public, and tells us that when the thought first came to her she "flinched in spirit," and turned her mind from it, "instead of feeling, 'Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth.' " But she was not long disobedient. The call came again by the deathbed of her beloved father, and, forgetting herself in the thought of his blessedness, and in sympathy with those around her, her lips were opened, and, to the surprise of all present, she praised God for the dead and prayed aloud for the living. From that day, in spite of nervousness and many self questionings, she began to speak in meetings, and at other times, willing, as God should lead her to do so, to pass on to other hearts the peace and comfort she had herself found; and, as she needed it, divine help was given, so that she could say, "I cannot understand it; but the power given was wonderful to myself; and the cross none; my heart was so full that I could hardly hinder utterance."

But we must now turn to the great work which occupied the later years of Elizabeth Fry's life—her work amongst prisoners.

It began in a very simple way during the winter of 1812-13, which she and her family were spending in London.

She was not the first who had taken up this work; for John Howard had laid down his life at Kherson in Russian Tartary, in 1790, whilst travelling through Europe trying to bring about prison reform; but he himself said that he was like "the plodder who goes about to collect materials for men of genius to make

use of," and he prophesied that some one would be raised up to carry on the work after his death.

In 1813, Stephen Grellet was visiting England, and went with William Forster to see the prisoners in Newgate. Some of the women prisoners were considered so dangerous that the jailer tried to prevent these Friends from going into the female wards, saying that he could not be responsible for what the women might do, and the very least to be expected was that the visitors would have the clothes torn off their backs. But Stephen Grellet says, "The path of duty being clear before me, I proceeded to the prison," and he thus describes what took place: "When I first entered, the foulness of the air was almost insupportable, and everything that is base and depraved was so strongly depicted on the faces of the women who stood crowded before me, that for a while my soul was greatly dismayed; surely then did I witness that the Lord is a refuge and strength, His truth is a shield and buckler. The more I beheld the awful consequences of sin, the more also I felt the love of Christ, who has come to save, and who died for sinners. As I began to speak under the feeling sense of this redeeming love of Christ, their countenances began to alter; soon they hung down their heads; and tears in abundance were seen to flow.

"I inquired of them if there were any other female prisoners in the place, and was told that several sick ones were upstairs. On going up, I was astonished beyond description at the mass of woe and misery I beheld. I found many very sick, lying on the bare floor or on some old straw, having very scanty covering over them, though it was quite cold; and there were several children born in the prison among them, almost naked.

"On leaving that abode of wretchedness and misery, I went to Mildred's Court, to my much valued Friend, Elizabeth Fry, to whom I described, out of the fulness

of my heart, what I had just beheld, stating also that something must be done immediately for those poor, suffering children. The appeal to such a pious and sensible mind as dear Elizabeth possesses was not in vain. She immediately sent for several pieces of flannel, and had speedily collected a number of our young women Friends, who went to work with such diligence, that on the very next day she repaired to the prison with a bundle of made-up garments for the naked children."

When Elizabeth Fry went with another lady to distribute this clothing, they found about three hundred women, with their children, all crowded together into a space not more than 190 yards square. Here they cooked and washed and slept. When any stranger appeared, they clamoured for money and, if it was given, bought drink with it from a Tap in the prison. Several times during this winter Elizabeth Fry visited them, doing what she could to relieve their bodily wants, and also trying to speak to their spiritual needs. It was wonderful how quietly the poor prisoners behaved in the presence of these gentle and sympathetic friends. "Before we went away," Elizabeth Fry says of one of these visits, "dear Anna Buxton uttered a few words in prayer, and, very unexpectedly to myself, I did also. I heard weeping, and I thought they seemed much tendered; a very solemn quiet was observed: it was a striking scene, the poor people on their knees around us, in their deplorable condition."

The needs of these poor prisoners ever afterwards rested on her heart, although it was nearly four years before she was able to come to London again and take up definite work for them. In the interval two more children were added to the now large family circle, and one, little Elizabeth, nearly five years old, was taken to the heavenly home. So the mother's time was much taken up with loving care for her family of nine

children, and she could do little for the prisoners beyond sending them gifts of clothing.

But in 1817 way seemed to open for some further effort. She placed her boys at Josiah Forster's School at Tottenham, and entrusted her four eldest girls to the care of their aunt, Rachel Gurney, and then settled for a time with her husband in London, on purpose that she might carefully consider whether anything could be done to improve the condition of the women prisoners in Newgate.

On her second visit, she asked the astonished turnkey to leave her alone with the women, and as she told them of Christ who came to save sinners, and who would forgive and receive them even at the eleventh hour, they listened, wondering and softened. "Who is Christ?" they asked; and "can *we* really come? is it not too late for us?"

She especially spoke to the mothers, and said that, if they would help her, she would try to start a school for their children. Surely they would like their children to grow into good men and women? She asked them to think it over, and to choose a governess from among themselves. The appeal touched their hearts. It was wonderful to them that this beautiful lady should care for *their* children and ask *them* to help her; and these women, who, a few hours before, had been drinking, fighting and gambling, looked up and promised to do what they could to help in saving their children.

The next time she came they had chosen a young woman, named Mary Connor, as schoolmistress. The Governor of the prison, although he thought it an utterly hopeless experiment, granted the use of an empty cell for a schoolroom, and here day after day for many weeks, Elizabeth Fry, with another lady to help her, gathered the prison children and as many of the younger women as the room would hold, and Mary Connor proved a very capable teacher.

Soon those women who could not be admitted to the school began to beg that something might be done for them too, and Elizabeth Fry thought out a plan for dividing them up into classes and finding work for them. She drew up rules for their good behaviour, and monitors, chosen from among themselves, were to see that the rules were obeyed. Then she invited eleven other ladies, who had become interested in the work, to form themselves with her into "An Association for the Improvement of the Female Prisoners in Newgate."

The officers of the prison could not believe that any good could be done, but promised such help as was in their power, and agreed to meet the ladies at Newgate one Sunday afternoon to start the scheme.

The prisoners were assembled, and Elizabeth Fry explained to them that she and her friends had no authority and no wish to *compel* them to what she was about to propose, but that they only wanted to help them; that no rule should be made unless they all approved of it and agreed to keep it, and that they were all at liberty to give their opinions freely.

Then one by one she read out twelve rules, requiring order, decency and industry, and, as each was proposed, every hand was held up in approval. In the same way monitors were appointed, and then, after the reading of a chapter from the Bible and a time of silence, the classes withdrew in a most orderly manner with their monitors.

A gentleman, who visited Newgate a fortnight after these rules had been adopted, says:—

"The court yard into which I was admitted, instead of being peopled with beings scarcely human, presented a scene where stillness and propriety reigned. I was conducted by a decently dressed person, the newly appointed yards-woman, to the door of a ward, where, at the head of a long table, sat a lady belonging to the

Society of Friends. She was reading aloud to about sixteen women prisoners, who were engaged in needle-work around it. Each wore a clean looking blue apron and bib, with a ticket having a number on it suspended from her neck by a red tape. They all rose on my entrance, curtsied respectfully, and then at a given signal resumed their seats and employments."

The "Chronicles of Newgate" says:—"What Mrs. Fry quickly accomplished against tremendous difficulties is one of the brightest facts in the history of philanthropy. How she persevered in spite of predictions of certain failure, how she won the co-operation of lukewarm officials, how she provided the manual labour for which those poor idle hands were eager, and presently transformed a filthy den of corruption into clean whitewashed rooms, in which sat rows of women, recently so desperate and degraded, stitching and sewing, orderly and silent, was indeed extraordinary."

Maria Edgeworth thus describes a visit which she paid to Newgate in March, 1822:—"The private door opened at sight of our tickets, and the great doors, and the little doors, and the thick doors, and doors of all sorts, were unbolted and unlocked, and on we went through dreary but clean passages, till we came to a room where rows of empty benches fronted a table on which lay a large Bible.

"Enter Mrs. Fry in a drab-coloured silk cloak and plain, borderless Quaker cap; a most benevolent countenance, calm, benign. Her first smile as she looked upon me I can never forget.

"The prisoners came in, and in an orderly manner ranged themselves on the benches. All quite clean, faces, hair, cap and hands. On a very low bench in front, little children were seated and were *settled* by their mothers.

"Mrs. Fry opened the Bible, and read in the most sweetly solemn, sedate voice I ever heard, slowly and

distinctly, without anything in the manner that could distract attention from the matter. Sometimes she paused to explain, which she did with great judgment, addressing the convicts, '*We have felt ; we are convinced.*'

"Mrs. Fry often says an extempore prayer ; but this day she was quite silent while she covered her face with her hands for some minutes ; the women were perfectly silent, with their eyes fixed upon her, and when she said, '*You may go,*' they went away *slowly*. The children sat quite still the whole time, and when one *leaned*, the mother behind set her upright."

The improvement in the women was so marked that the City authorities adopted the plans of the Ladies' Association as part of the prison regulations. The whole place was changed and people came from far and near to see the miracle. The newspapers reported the matter, and, to her dismay, Elizabeth Fry suddenly found herself famous.

Besides visiting prisons all over England and Scotland, she travelled in France and Germany for the same purpose, and was everywhere received with respect and admiration by those in authority, and with gratitude and devotion by the prisoners.

Many fresh plans developed as the work went on. A very important one was in reference to the women who were sentenced to be transported. The day on which they were removed from Newgate was usually a time of sad riot and disorder, but, when the day came for the first batch of women, whom the ladies had cared for, to be taken to the convict ship, Elizabeth Fry promised them that, if they would behave decently, she and other ladies would go with them. The result of this promise was an entire change in their behaviour, and they went quietly and in good order.

On arriving at the ship (the *Maria*), they found that below deck the prisoners were herded like cattle, some

heavily ironed, and there they were to remain through all the weeks of the voyage, without any employment or oversight, and on their arrival at the penal settlement they would be turned out penniless and homeless in a strange land.

It was quite evident that, unless something could be done for them, all the good they had gained in Newgate would be quickly undone. There was not much time to make arrangements, but Elizabeth Fry suggested that a monitor should be appointed over each mess of twelve women, and she exerted herself during the few days before they sailed in getting materials for knitting and patchwork to occupy them on the voyage, in the hope that, as there was a ready sale for these articles in the colony, the money they received might keep them from starving, until they could get some honest work.

On the day that the *Maria* sailed, Elizabeth Fry "went on board, and, amid profound silence, read a few verses from the Bible, and prayed that God would bless these poor women, for whom she could do no more, and keep alive the good seed which had been sown in their hearts. . . ." From this time until her death she visited every convict ship that left the Thames, except one.

But the absorbing interest of the prison work did not make her shut her eyes to other calls. She was the means of opening a "shelter" for homeless children in London; and at Brighton, where, during the later years of her life, she often had to go for her health, she started a District Visiting Society, which was a means of much good.

The loneliness of the coastguardsmen's life also called out her sympathy, and she undertook the great work of organising libraries for them at 600 different stations round the shores of Great Britain.

In the summer of 1845, her health failed, and she was taken to Ramsgate for change of air. Here she spent three months with her family, and then passed peacefully away with the prayer on her lips, "O my dear Lord, help and keep Thy servant."

During her last illness she said to one of her daughters, "My dear, I can say one thing—since my heart was touched at the age of seventeen, I believe I never have awakened from sleep, in sickness or health, by day or by night, without my first waking thought being, how best I might serve the Lord."

"So when her hour
Was come, her children round her, she prepared
To meet the Lord she loved. She whose long life
Was lived for Him ; whose earliest waking thought
Was every morn for Him ; whose gathering years
Were crowned with deeds of mercy ; whose dear name,
In every clime, thousands of rescued souls
Uttered with tremulous lips and full of praise ;
Whose thought was always how to raise to hope
The poor, the sick, the fallen ; how to strike
The fetters from the prisoner and the slave,
And save the piteous childish lives the State
Had left to utter ruin—she no less
Knew the Divine despondency which marks
The saintly soul. 'Pray for me,' said her voice,
'It is a strife,* but I am safe.' "†

* Her actual words were, "Pray for me, it is a *strife*, but I am safe."

† Lewis Morris.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WHAT FRIENDS ARE DOING AT HOME.

WHEN we turn from the middle period of Quakerism to more modern times, we find that most of the great social and religious movements which take up so much time and thought in the Quaker life of to-day were begun by a few of the earnest men and women who lived fifty or sixty years ago.

As has already been stated, there seemed to come to the Society of Friends, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, a fresh spiritual energy, a new sense of responsibility for the world outside its own borders. Friends, were more earnest than ever in working for the great causes of peace, education and social reform. Many took part in the temperance movement, then new and very unpopular ; others started Sunday Schools or opened Mission Halls, and gradually as more Friends became interested in the work, the Meetings took it under their care, and it no longer depended only on individual effort, but received the encouragement and support of the Society at large.

This is so much the case at the present time that the following Committees and Associations now report regularly to the Yearly Meeting, and their work is considered part of the work of the Society, and occupies an important place in the business, not only of the Yearly Meeting, but in many cases of the various Quarterly, Monthly and Preparative Meetings :—

Home Mission and Extension Committee.

Central Education Committee.

Peace Committee.

Anti-Slavery Committee.

Anti-Opium Committee.

Friends' Tract Association.

Friends' First-Day School Association (including Adult Schools).

Friends' Foreign Mission Association.

Friends' Temperance Union.

The Editor of *The Friend*, Henry Stanley Newman, remarks in an article of 27, 12 mo., 1907, "The more carefully we study the last half-century of Quakerism the greater appears the advance in Christian activity. Anyone who carefully reads the account of London Yearly Meeting in the issues of *The Friend* fifty years ago, will, we think, conclude that the way was then being faithfully prepared for the enlargement and progress that have happily taken place. In 1857, . . . Joseph Thorp, Robert Forster and Robert Charleton sat as Clerks at our Yearly Meeting in London. James Backhouse, Benjamin Seeböhm, John Pease and Joseph Pease, Peter Bedford, Grover Kemp, Daniel P. Hack, Josiah Forster, Joseph Sturge and Samuel Bowly were active in religious service during the various sessions. . . . In 1857, Bristol and York made a definite stand for Adult Schools, which was rapidly followed in the next three or four years in many other Friendly centres, William White moving about among Friends with his racy narratives of experiences in men's classes and their encouraging results."

As an instance of how Friends became interested in Home Mission Work, let us turn to the story of the life of Peter Bedford.

He was born in 1780 (the same year as Elizabeth Fry), at a village in Essex, where his father had a draper's shop. He was a gentle, bright-tempered, little lad, and whilst serving his apprenticeship with

a Friend at Kelvedon, Joseph Allen was so attracted by his pleasant manners and evident business capacity that he offered him a situation in his silk weaving establishment in the east of London. Some years later he was made a partner in this business, which was carried on in Spitalfields, and he ultimately became the sole proprietor.

At that time Spitalfields was the chief centre of the silk weaving industry in England. The work was done by hand looms, mostly in the weavers' own homes, where the whole family often took some share in it.

Many of the weavers were descendants of French Huguenots, who had fled from persecution at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685, and having been welcomed by the citizens of London, had settled down in the East End to practise their trade there.

It is said that at this time there were in this district about ten thousand looms, with a population of thirty thousand persons dependent for support on these being kept in work. Most of the silk came from Italy, and during the long continental wars the supply was often uncertain.

As Peter Bedford's business brought him into touch with these people, and his sympathies were drawn out towards them, he began to plan ways of helping them.

During a time of slack trade and consequent great distress, he opened a soup kitchen, which was capable of providing daily a nourishing meal for seven thousand people. A large committee of voluntary workers helped to superintend the making of the soup, and to see that it was given to really deserving persons. In visiting the homes, Peter Bedford and his friends became aware of the great ignorance of most of the people, and they determined to try to found schools in the district on the monitorial plan which had lately

been started by Joseph Lancaster. The fee was a penny a week, and the school rooms accommodated one thousand boys and five hundred girls. The Committee also opened a Refuge for some of the most destitute cases.

One day, many years later, Peter Bedford went into a bank in Paris to transact some business. He was waited on by a very gentlemanly-looking young man, who, after the business was disposed of, inquired politely whether he was Mr. Bedford, of Spitalfields, and, on hearing that he was, said, "Then, sir, I am greatly indebted to you." He went on to explain that he had received his first education in the school founded by Peter Bedford, and felt that he owed his success in life to him. Many similar instances could be given of those who were helped and uplifted by these efforts.

When Peter Bedford moved to Croydon in 1836, his interest in Spitalfields continued, although the work was carried on by others.

In 1849, some young Friends opened a school for boys on Sunday afternoons, where reading and writing were taught, preference being given to boys who could not attend school on week-days. Other branches of work grew up in connection with this school, and in 1865 a building, which had been put up expressly for the purpose, was opened in Quaker Street and named the Bedford Institute, after the good man whose life had given the first inspiration to the work to be carried on there, and who had died in 1864.

About the same time Friends at Ratcliff and Peel were also busy organising active Christian work, and it was decided to form the Bedford Institute Association to include all three centres. Since then other branches in different parts of London have joined the Association, until there are now nine branches, at each of which there are schools, religious meetings, temperance meetings and classes, and clubs of different kinds,

something being carried on at many of the centres every day of the week.

The aim is to help people all through the week, thus giving them a practical illustration of the meaning of the Gospel, which they hear preached on the First-day. In some districts, public houses have been transformed into cheerful places for wholesome refreshment and recreation ; window gardening is encouraged to brighten the dull London homes, and almost every branch has its gymnasium.

The premises at Bunhill Fields are built on a portion of the ground where the remains of George Fox, Edward Burrough, and many thousands of the early Friends were buried. At Barking, an old Meeting-house, which had been closed for sixty years, has been reopened and adapted for the work, and in several places new ground has been purchased, and halls specially built for the needs of the district.

The latest Report of the Association estimates that the lives of more than twenty thousand persons are influenced by the work at these various centres.

We have taken the Bedford Institute Association as an instance of the way in which interest in Home Mission Work grew up amongst Friends. During the last fifty years similar efforts have been made in most places where there is a Friends' Meeting, and one of the most pressing problems which we have to meet to-day is that of our responsibility towards the large circle who have thus come within the range of our influence.

Ourselves a small Society, only numbering about 18,500 members in England, we have in our Mission Meetings and Schools at least twice as many whom we have been the means of helping, and who naturally look to us for guidance in their efforts after better and higher things. How are we to give them the right hand of brotherhood and make them welcome to our

Christian fellowship, and yet continue our witness to those truths which we feel have been specially entrusted to us as a Society to uphold ?

Of all the many efforts for the good of others which were started by Friends fifty or sixty years ago, none has been more successful or had more wide-reaching influences than the Adult School Movement.

A First-day early morning school for adults had been begun by some Friends at Nottingham early in the century, but it was to the Severn Street School at Birmingham that the movement owed its first great impulse.

Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, will long be remembered for his earnest advocacy of the causes of freedom, temperance and peace, and it is interesting to find that this Adult School had its origin in his thoughtfulness for those around him.

One day in 1845, when talking with some young Friends, he lamented the fact that the Sunday Schools turned their scholars adrift just at the age when the temptations to spend the day in folly and vice were greatest, and he raised the question, "Cannot something be done to meet this evil ?" His young friends took hold of his suggestion, and the following handbill was issued :—

"A School is intended to be held on First-day (Sunday) evenings, from six to eight o'clock, at the British School Rooms in Severn Street, chiefly for the purpose of affording instruction in reading the Scriptures, and in writing, to youths and young men from fourteen years of age and upwards, who are invited to attend. The School to commence on the 12th of 10th month, 1845."

The first Teachers' Meetings were held at Joseph Sturge's house. One Sunday morning he invited William White, then a young man just entering on business life in Birmingham, to meet the Severn Street

teachers at breakfast. This was William White's introduction to the work which from this time onward was the absorbing interest of his life, for although not the actual founder, he will always be looked upon as the father of Adult Schools all over the country.

In the summer of 1846, the school hour was altered to 7.30 a.m. The teachers met at seven o'clock and breakfasted together, and by 1848 the average attendance of scholars had increased to 186.

It was soon found that *men* as well as youths were anxious to have the chance of learning to read and write which the school afforded, and a small class of men, called No. 1 class, was formed, of which William White became the teacher in 1848.

The only caretaker of the premises in these early days was a dog, for whose use the purchase of a kennel was authorised at one of the Quarterly Teachers' Meetings.

This was long before the days of Saturday half holidays, but, however late William White had been at work the night before, he always arrived in time to have a little chat with his friends before breakfast. He practised this habit of punctuality to the end of his life, and it was no doubt one of the many good qualities which secured his success as an Adult School teacher. His biographer, Oliver Morland, says of him :

"No one who experienced it will ever forget the task of struggling through a foot of newly-fallen snow one Sunday morning in the winter of 1898, nor their wonder at the pluck of the old man of seventy-eight, who faced the two mile walk to school, and sat down to the breakfast table punctually at seven o'clock."

Nearly 3,000 letters from his scholars, which he carefully preserved, testify how much they all loved and honoured him, and how he had helped them. One man writes :—

"MY DEAR TEACHER,

"It is with pleasure that I received the books from you . . . You cannot think how one feels with my misfortune with broken leg and collar bone, one wonders there can be any sunshine in one at all. . . . But I always remember your kind words, 'There is nothing so bad but it might be worse,' and I think of the man that praised God with a broken leg and parish pay, for there might be two broken legs and no parish pay. . . . I think with all my troubles I have great cause to be thankful to Almighty God for His goodness to me and mine.

"I remain,

"YOUR AFFECTE. SCHOLAR."

Another says :—

"DEAR BROTHER AND FRIEND,

"I have had it boxed up in my mind for a long time I should like to write a few lines to you, hoping this will find you in good health, for that is what we want. I cannot tell you how much I owe you and your Brotherhood for starting the Adult School. It has been the making of me. My home is better, my wife brighter, children happier, self is as happy as a king, for I am one of the King's sons, and mean to take my post as long as God will employ me. I shall fight for my God in spite of the devil's agents. The thicker the storm the better the battle. I have been in God's service for six years ; it is the best time of my life. I could not read nor write, but can do both now. I have took 138 men to the School, and hope to take as many more, if God wills. I can remember when I had four children, no food, no firing, no clothes, no home worth calling home, now, bless God, I have got a fine house full of good things."

One of the first members of his Class has told how he came to Severn Street School ragged and miserable,

and William White met him, saying, "Why, my dear friend, how very badly the Devil has been using thee; he's almost stripped the clothes off thy back; have a good try and stop at School, let thee and me run a race together." "And," his biographer adds, "a good race they did run, teacher and scholar, William White and Frederick Beard, apostles of the Adult School Movement over the length and breadth of the land."

This great work, cradled by the Society of Friends, has now become a national movement, with more than 1,000 schools, men's and women's, and 100,000 members in England. The spirit of warm brotherhood and discipleship, which it fosters, revives the glow of life of the early Friends and the early Church, and is the best of all atmospheres for the life of loving service to which the followers of Christ are called.

Friends also attach great value to the way in which these Schools develop the mind and character of their members along true educational lines. Many feel that the Adult School Movement is showing us how we may naturally and safely widen and enrich our Quaker fellowship.

Our Home Mission work to-day concerns itself with the social as well as what is commonly called the religious life. With Friends' views of the sacredness of the whole of life, this has always been the case to some extent; but as the years have passed on, it has seemed to become clearer that such problems as the proper housing of the poor and how to find work for the unemployed, *must* be faced and some effort made to solve them, if we are to hope that our Christianity will lay hold of and help to raise the men and women around us. How can we teach the truths of the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of men, unless as children of our Father in Heaven we do what we can to help our brothers and sisters, and try to make it possible for them to enjoy, as we do, the privileges which should be the

common property of all—honest work, decent homes, and wholesome food and surroundings?

At the Yearly Meeting of 1907, two sittings were given to the consideration of our responsibility as a Society towards Social Questions.

In one of the papers read, B. Seeböhm Rowntree made the suggestion: "Why should we not have some such query as this: 'Is the condition of the poor around you a matter of Christian solicitude on your part? Do you bear in mind that it must be contrary to the will of our Father in Heaven that any of His children should be placed in circumstances, that must inevitably arrest the development of their higher nature, and are you taking your right share in social service?'" Such a query," he tells us, "would be but the modern echo of the fundamental portion of the message of our early Friends. George Fox, placed in Derby House of Correction, . . . devoted a portion of the time spent there to the study of the social condition of the town, and the state of the prisons and prisoners. In 1658, he exhorted the Protector and the Parliament to do away with beggars, saying that 'want brought people to steal,' and that those who are rich should provide some employment for the poor, or keep them out of temptation. He went on to suggest a Government register of employers requiring labour, and of workmen out of employ in every market town. In the same year Fox appealed for the prohibition of more public houses than were necessary for genuine travellers. He persistently declaimed in fairs and at market crosses against cheating and cozening in trade."

In another paper George Newman said:—"England's great contribution to the world has not been books or navies, but Ideals. And we who are Quakers, it is not for us as a Society to administer the Empire, to legislate for communities, to redistribute land or wealth. 't is for us, and I press it as a great duty laid upon us,

it is for us to raise in a materialistic age *the ideals of social reform*. More than external environment, more than administration of law, is the force of ideals—ideals of the Kingdom of Home, of Motherhood, of Self-control, of Justice and of Stewardship. It is for us to lift the eyes of our countrymen to the glory which is to be, to make dreams and visions possible, to teach that social responsibility rests upon us all, and that personal service is a debt which all must pay.”

CHAPTER XIX.

WHAT FRIENDS ARE DOING ABROAD.

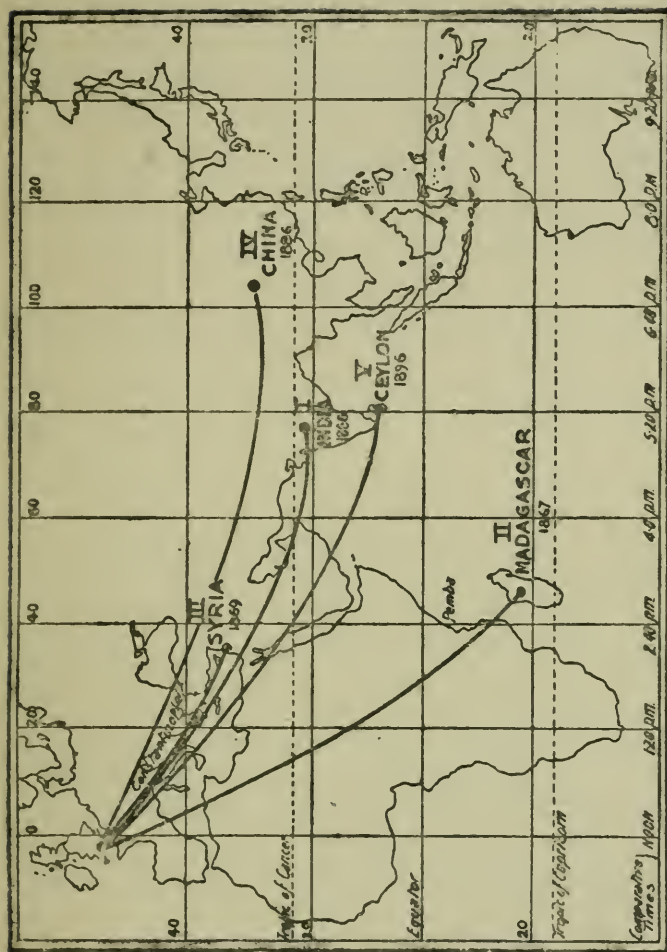
VERY little has been said in earlier chapters about the work of Friends abroad, and so we will look back to the early days of the Society and see how Friends did their part then in "promoting the spread of the Redeemer's Kingdom *abroad*."

A Minute of a General Meeting held at Skipton in 1660, gives us a good idea of their earnestness in spreading the Quaker message, and shows how widely they had travelled. It says: "We have received certain information from some Friends in London of the great work and service of the Lord beyond the seas, in several parts and regions, as Germany, America, Virginia and many other places, as Florence, Mantua, Palatine, Tuscany, Italy, Rome, Turkey, Jerusalem, France, Geneva, Norway, Barbadoes, Bermuda, Antigua, Jamaica, Surinam, Newfoundland, through all which Friends have passed in the service of the Lord, and divers other places, countries, islands and nations, and over and among many nations of the Indians, in which they have had service for the Lord and have published His name and declared the everlasting Gospel of peace unto them that have been afar off, that they might be brought nigh unto God."

A subscription, which is spoken of as the "third," was at once taken for the expenses of those travelling Friends who were not able to pay their own. It amounted to £500, which would be worth about the same as £1,500 at the present time.

FRIENDS' WORK IN FIVE FIELDS.—A Summary of Statistics for 1907.

	Approximate Population of F.F.M.A. District.	Number of Missionaries.	Number of Native Workers.	Number of Principal Mission Stations.	Adherents, including Members.	Number in Sunday Schools.	Number of Pupils in Mission Schools.	Patients treated at Hospitals and Dispensaries.
INDIA. Work begun 1866.	1,750,000	28	97	8	over 1,100	nearly 2,000	about 1,600	over 1,300
MADAGASCAR. Work begun 1867.	200,000	25	682	6	over 18,000	nearly 5,000	nearly 4,000	None
SYRIA. Work begun 1869.	200,000	13	38	3	over 600	over 500	nearly 1,000	nearly 3,000
CHINA. Work begun 1886.	1,000,000	27	82	5	over 2,000	over 600	700	over 1,000
CEYLON. Work begun 1896.	100,000	12	56	4	about 130	nearly 900	over 1,200	nearly 600
Total numbers for all the Five Fields.	3,250,000	105	955	26	about 22,000	nearly 9,000	about 8,500	nearly 6,000



FRIENDS' WORK IN FIVE FIELDS.

This Map shows the relative position of the different fields, also the time in each compared with Greenwich.

The duty of preaching the Gospel abroad was often urged on Friends by George Fox in his epistles. He says for instance, writing to Friends in America : " You must preach the grace of God to all blacks and Indians, to teach them to live godly, righteously and soberly. Also you must instruct your Indians and negroes and all others how that Christ by the grace of God tasted death for every man, and gave Himself a ransom for all men, to be testified in due time, and is the propitiation not for the sins of Christians only, but for the sins of the whole world."

The desire to carry the gospel to the *Indians* was one of William Penn's chief motives for the founding of Pennsylvania. In his petition to the Crown for his Charter, he says that he had in view " the glory of God by the civilisation of the poor Indians, and the conversion of the Gentiles by just and lenient measures to Christ's kingdom."

All through the journals and writings of the early Friends we continually meet with instances of their missionary zeal. They travelled all over Europe, braving the terrors of the Inquisition and of the much dreaded Turkish slavery ; three Friends pressed forward through unknown regions to reach Prester John's country, and wherever they went they carried their message of " the great and tender love of God " alike to Jew and Gentile, to Catholic and Mohammedan. In fact, in the seventeenth century the Society of Friends was one large Missionary Society, and its field was the world.

A large part of their zeal was, however, directed towards the two great rulers, whom they regarded as heads of two false religions then very powerful in Europe—Roman Catholicism and Mohammedanism. If only the Pope and the Sultan could be brought to see the error of their ways, what a door would be opened for the spread of Truth ! And with characteristic direct-

ness of purpose many Friends set out with the definite object of converting either the Pope of Rome or the Sultan, whom they called "the great Turk."

All these journeys are full of interest and adventure, and, as we read, we cannot but admire the stupendous faith of these early missionaries, and the holy daring with which they went forth, men and women alike, sometimes alone, sometimes two or more together, often with a very limited knowledge of the geography and conditions, and none at all of the language, of the country to which they felt called to go, but impelled by the constraining power of the love of Christ, so that they despised difficulties and hardships, and even death itself, if they might but obey the call of His spirit and carry the glad tidings of His Gospel to some who had not heard it.

It will be interesting to recall the story of one such journey before passing on to later times.

In 1660, Mary Fisher, who had been a servant in the home of some Friends in Yorkshire, felt that God had called her to carry a message to the Sultan, Mahomet IV. He was then at the height of his power, although only eighteen years of age. The historian, Gerard Croese, tells us that, impressed with this belief, "this English maiden would not be at rest before she went in person to the great Emperor of the Turks, and informed him concerning the errors of his religion and the truth of hers."

Travelling by Italy, Zante and Corinth, she reached Smyrna, where the English Consul, not recognising her heavenly commission, very naturally advised her to go no further, and when he found that she would not take his advice, he placed her on board a vessel bound for Venice, with orders that she should be taken there.

But Mary Fisher was not to be so easily turned aside from what she believed to be her duty. She persuaded

the captain to land her on the Morea, and thence alone, and knowing neither the roads nor the language, she travelled on foot along the coast of Greece, through Macedonia and over the mountains of Thrace, until she reached the beautiful plain on which Adrianople stands. Here the Sultan was encamped with a large army. She told her errand to some of the citizens of Adrianople, and asked them to go with her to the Sultan's camp, but they were afraid of displeasing the great monarch, so she went forward quite alone.

Arrived at the camp, she got someone to go to the Grand Visier to tell him that an English woman was come, who had something to declare from the great God to the Sultan. The Visier sent word that next morning he would arrange an interview for her. So she returned to the town that night, and the next morning was brought before the Sultan, who received her in great state, surrounded by his great men, as he was accustomed to receive ambassadors. He asked her through an interpreter whether it was true that she had something to say to him from the Lord God. She answered "Yea." Then he bade her "Speak the word of the Lord to them and not to fear, for they had good hearts, and could bear it." Then she spoke what she had upon her mind.

The Turks listened to her with much attention and gravity, and the Sultan said that what she had spoken was truth. Then he desired her to stay in that country, for he said they must respect one who had taken such pains to come so far to them with a message from the Lord God. He offered her a guard to bring her back to Constantinople, for he said it was a dangerous road, and he should not like anything to happen to her in his dominions. She declined his offer, and travelling as she had come, alone, safely reached Constantinople, and finally her native land.

With the close of the seventeenth century this first era of missionary zeal in the Society of Friends came to an end, and for about 160 years very little effort was made to reach the heathen populations of the world.

Nor was it only the Society of Friends that was inactive during these years, for until the great missionary message of William Carey in 1792, the Church generally had no strong sense of their duty to the heathen world. Individual Friends took their share in the founding of the three great undenominational Societies, the London Missionary Society, the Religious Tract Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society; and there were many such as Daniel Wheeler, James Backhouse, Stephen Grellet and Joseph John Gurney, who in the course of their travels, visited missionary stations or carried their message of gospel love to Indians or negroes. But such missionary work was, in most cases, an incident of their travels, and not the chief purpose for which they set out.

In the life of Hannah Kilham, we have one striking exception to this general rule. In 1817, she felt her mind turned to Sierra Leone, where a colony for freed slaves had been founded in 1787. With great foresight she began to prepare for her work by choosing out at the London docks two intelligent African sailors. She had them taught English, and then with their help, reduced the language of the country to writing, and prepared some little books to help her in teaching. In 1823 she sailed with three other Friends and her two negro helpers, and landed at Bathurst. Here they founded an agricultural settlement, and Hannah Kilham and Ann Thompson devoted themselves to school teaching, first clothing the children, who were mostly taken from the slave ships. She taught them to read their own language and afterwards English. Her idea was to form a little community of farmers,

spinners, weavers, joiners, etc., and her hope that in a few years' time native teachers would be raised up to carry on the work was partly realised.

The climate was very unhealthy and trying to Europeans, and in 1832 she died of fever.

The work now carried on by Friends for freed slaves on the island of Pemba is specially interesting, because it is so much on the same lines, and for the same object as was this pioneer work done by Hannah Kilham.

The Mutiny in 1857 turned the attention of all Englishmen to India. Friends in this country were deeply exercised at the spirit of revenge shown by their countrymen, and the Meeting for Sufferings seriously considered "The present position of the British nation in reference to its dependencies in India, and connected therewith the duties of a professedly Christian nation in its intercourse with the less enlightened countries of the earth."

In 1858, the Yearly Meeting issued an address, condemning the system of slavery, the selling of liquor to native races, "the guilty traffic in opium with China," and the unrighteous annexation of territory. It says: "Warmly do we desire that Christians everywhere may be more and more alive to their high vocation; and address themselves to the warfare against sin, ignorance and superstition, relying on the power of our risen Redeemer, rather than on the protection of fleets and armies."

The Act for the better government of India, under which Britain assumed direct responsibility for the government of India, received the royal assent in August, 1858. In the following month the Meeting for Sufferings adopted a Memorial to the Government against the Opium Traffic. It was felt to be "a momentous and critical juncture," as "the plea of divided responsibility" for the government of India could "no longer avail." It is clear that the claims of the people of India and

China upon our Christian interest were strongly felt by Friends fifty years ago.

In 1859, George Richardson, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, then in his eighty-sixth year, felt the subject of Foreign Missions so laid upon his heart that he wrote with his own hand sixty long letters and sent them round amongst Friends. The Meeting for Sufferings and then the Yearly Meeting took up the "concern," and these letters were the means of greatly deepening the interest of Friends in the subject.

The visit of two Indo-Portuguese Friends from Calcutta to the Yearly Meeting in 1861, and of three English Friends to India during 1862-64, further quickened interest. In 1865, a number of Friends met at the Yearly Meeting and formed themselves into a Provisional Committee, with a view of promoting interest in Foreign Missionary work, and helping any Friend having a concern to engage in such work. This led to the formation of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association (the F.F.M.A., as we shall call it), in 1868.

The first missionary to be sent out was Rachel Metcalfe, who, in 1856, had distinctly felt that the Lord gave her a direct call to go to INDIA in ten years' time. As the years passed by, however, she began to think that there might be other work for her to do, and that she could serve the Lord as well in England, in training little ones for His service. In telling the story at a meeting of native converts in India, she relates that "then the call came again, and the sweet assurance was given, 'I will be with thee'—a promise which has never failed me from that day to this."

A few months later, way opened for her to go out to help Mrs. Leupolt, of Benares, in her industrial work. A few Friends promised to pay part of the necessary expense, the rest she gladly undertook herself, for "was it not for the Lord?" She left England in Tenth Month, 1866, with only a few rupees, working

her way out on board ship as nurse in a European family. On her arrival at Benares, Mr. and Mrs. Leupolt received her kindly. She says: "I began work at once, and continued there till Tenth Month, 1869, loving my work, loving the girls and women, and glad to do anything for them, and thankful to Friends at home for providing me with what was needful for my maintenance."

In 1869, Rachel Metcalfe was joined by Elkanah and Irena S. Beard, from America, and in 1870, they began work in the Central Provinces. In 1873, Rachel Metcalfe had a serious illness, and though she regained comparative health, her power of walking never returned. She still took an active share in the work, but the last fifteen years of her life were years of much suffering.

It is wonderful, however, how much she accomplished, especially in starting the work amongst the orphans. She was so crippled with rheumatism that it was at first thought unwise for her to undertake such a charge; "but," she says, "the importunity of the old man who brought the first girl was so strong, and his desire so great that she should be under Christian care, that it seemed wrong to hold back; and Samuel Baker promising to obtain the needful supplies, in great weakness and looking to the Lord for help, I consented. It was really a hard day's work for me to get the girl settled in. She refused to be comforted. Neither food, sweetmeats, toys, nor new clothes would satisfy her. At last, when fairly worn out and really hungry, she quieted down, and finding herself quite safe after a good night's rest, we had little further trouble.

"No other child ever took so long to settle in, for others found companions ready to play with them, and comfort them by telling them of the good things they enjoyed, so that they soon got over their trouble. Two years later this first girl was admitted into membership with us on the confession of her faith in Christ,

and shortly after was married to a young Christian connected with the Mission."

Between 1881 and 1888 she had in all twenty-eight girls under her care, who, besides the usual school subjects, were taught to cook, grind corn, and do the household work.

Rachel Metcalfe said of her own service: "My work was to be a plank on which others could walk over and set to work. I have not been able to do all I hoped, but I have gone on as the way was made plain, and others have followed, which was one of my desires." As long as she lived, her room, where she was always to be found, was a place to which missionaries and natives alike continually turned, certain that there they would find sympathy and help, and since her death many of the girls whom she had trained have taken useful places, and are helping to spread the Gospel amongst their fellows.

The district under the care of Friends in India is about the size of Scotland. It is in Central India, four or five hundred miles north east of Bombay. The country consists largely of a great wheat-growing plain, through which flows the Narbada, one of the sacred rivers of India. The population of this district consists chiefly of Hindus and Mohammedans.

The higher castes of the Hindus are descended from an Aryan race, who lived in Central Asia and came from the north-west, over mountains, to invade and conquer India. Their sacred books were called the Vedas, and they worship nature-gods; the number of these has gradually increased from thirty-three to many millions.

A Hindu temple is a very small building, not intended for congregational worship, but just a house for the idol to live in with a priest in attendance. The idol may be a stone carved to represent a man or a woman, or it may have an elephant's or a monkey's head on a

man's body. The priest cares for it just as if it were a helpless human being. In the morning he beats a gong or rings a bell to wake it up. Then he washes and dresses it, and gives it food, and at sunset rings another bell to put it to sleep.

The Mohammedans worship the one God, and acknowledge that Jesus was a prophet, but they believe that Mohammed, who lived in Arabia about 600 years after Christ, was the last prophet sent by God to teach men, and that his teaching which is written down in the Koran, is to be followed instead of the teaching of Christ.

Besides the Hindus and Mohammedans, there are in the hill-country some of the original natives of India, called Gonds and Kurkus, who worship their ancestors and also demons.

It will be seen from this that the work of a missionary in India is very varied, and that he needs great wisdom to find out how to reach the hearts of all these different races.

Since India is a part of our own British Empire, her people have a special claim to our help, and the work there must always make a very strong appeal to our sympathies.

The London Missionary Society were the first to carry the Gospel to MADAGASCAR. In 1818, David Jones and Thomas Bevan, with their wives and children, sailed for Madagascar, but before the end of the year the whole party had died of fever except Mr. Jones. He was, however, not discouraged, and being joined next year by Mr. Griffiths, they set earnestly to work and within ten years had acquired the language, reduced it to writing, translated the whole of the Bible, and carefully revised and printed the New Testament.

In 1836, an era of twenty-five years of persecution began for the Christians of Madagascar. Queen Ranavalona I. issued a proclamation, forbidding Christian

worship. She declared that the reading of the Bible and "the praying" were opposed to her authority, and as the national feeling was in her favour, she set to work to stamp out Christianity with a strong hand. Fortunately, before the missionaries were obliged to leave the island, they had been able to complete the translation of the Bible, and this was a great comfort to the early converts when left without their teachers.

During these years, the Christians were speared to death, stoned, hurled from the rock, and burnt at the stake, yet they met their death with unflinching courage, singing hymns and praying for their persecutors as they were led to execution. Throughout these years of persecution, the number of Christians increased many fold, and when the persecuting Queen died, in 1861, the missionaries were able to return, and during the next few years Christianity made rapid progress. The first Friend missionaries, Joseph S. Sewell and Louis and Sarah Street, went out in 1867, and were joined a little later by Helen Gilpin. In 1868, Queen Ranavalona II. came to the throne. During the days of mourning for her predecessor, she often read a large Bible which had been placed in the palace, and in this way was led to accept Christianity. By her orders the idols were burnt, and the words, "Peace on earth, and goodwill to men" were inscribed in letters of gold on the canopy under which her throne was placed.

At this time the journey to Madagascar was very difficult, and took about three months. Travellers usually went by ship from London to Mauritius, where they changed into bullock vessels. This last part of the voyage was very uncomfortable, and after landing at Tamatave, there were still 200 miles between them and the capital, Antananarivo, or Tananarive, as it is now usually called. This journey had to be made by palanquin and bearers, as the road was very bad,

but since the occupation of the island by the French in 1895, a fine new road has been constructed, along which motor cars are constantly passing, besides horses, mules, jinrickshas and bicycles, whilst a railway between the coast and the capital has been nearly completed.

The Friends' district is as large as Middlesex, Essex and Hertfordshire, with a population of about 200,000 under our care.

Educational work has always been one of the strongest points in the Madagascar Mission, but the new rules made by the French Government and their determined efforts to get all the schools under their own control have been very harassing and discouraging to the workers. The missionaries are, however, bravely trying to adapt their work to the new conditions and to keep on the schools wherever it is possible.

Madagascar is the only one of our "Five Fields" which possesses its own printing press. This began work in 1872, and has been most useful in supplying books for the schools and also for Bible study. In the first eight years of its existence, it issued 539,468 publications, one of the most popular of which, a Malagasy diary, reached in 1900 a circulation of 14,000.*

In 1867, Eli and Sybil Jones, from America, accompanied by Ellen Clare Miller, went to SYRIA, and their visits, extending over three years, resulted in the foundation of mission work at Brumana on Mount Lebanon, and at Ramallah, a few miles north of Jerusalem. Since 1888, the work at Ramallah has been carried on separately, by American Friends.

The work in Syria includes Boys' and Girls' High Schools, a Hospital at Brumana, and the Friends'

* There is also a Mission Press in India under a separate Committee of Friends. It issues the *Bombay Guardian*, which for many years has rendered valuable service to mission and anti-opium work in India.

Meeting. Thus in various ways, gospel work is carried on amongst the surrounding population of Maronites, Orthodox Greeks, Druses and Moslems.

The work in West CHINA was begun by Robert J. and Mary J. Davidson, who went out in 1886. In 1890, a Mission Station was opened at Chung-King, "the Liverpool of West China," which has since been made a Treaty Port. It is situated on the banks of the River Yangtze, 1,500 miles inland by river from Shanghai, and has a population of over 350,000. Work is now being carried on also at four other stations, besides numerous out-stations. At thirty-six of these, meetings are regularly held, and many Chinese have been received into Church membership.

The journey to Shanghai from London takes about a month, and after that there are two more journeys by steamer, and then a very tedious journey of at least a month in a native boat up the river Yangtse, before the missionaries reach Chung-King.

But it is well worth while to go, for this is "the day of opportunity" for reaching the millions of China. It is most important that the literary classes, who will occupy positions of great influence amongst their countrymen, should not be allowed to grow up ignorant of Christ and His kingdom. Under a sense of the urgency of meeting the needs of these Chinese students, the F.F.M.A. is uniting with other missionary societies in promoting a Christian University for Chentu, the capital of the province of Sz-Chwan. The F.F.M.A. has undertaken to provide a College, which will be under its own control, and also hopes to supply one or two members of the University Staff.

In May, 1907, a Conference, representing all the Protestant Missions in China, was held at Shanghai. This Conference issued a "Memorial to the Home Churches," in which the greatness of the work already done, and of the present opportunity, is thus spoken

of: "Looking at the whole matter as dispassionately as we can, we believe that we have quite as much reason to be encouraged by the net result of the progress of Christianity in China during the nineteenth century, as the early Christians had with the progress of the Gospel in the Roman Empire during the first century. . . . We feel, and we desire to impress strongly on the Churches from which we come, the conviction that at the present time we are only at the beginning of things in the mission field. . . . At present, China is crying aloud for Western education. . . . It is for Christians, above all men, to bring to the Chinese the education they crave, but an education imbued throughout with Christian thought, Christian motive and Christian influence; for this is the one thing China specially needs."

China has a strong claim upon us when we remember that for the last fifty years our Indian Government has raised a large revenue by selling opium, prepared from the poppy fields of India, to her people. The Chinese soon realised that opium smoking meant poverty and crime and ruined homes, and they wanted to keep it out of their country by law. But England would not agree to lose so much money, and went to war with the Chinese to force them to take it. How can we expect them to believe in Christianity, when we, who call ourselves a Christian nation, have forced this opium poison upon them against their will, and after three times waging war with them for this purpose, have gone on enriching ourselves at their expense? Again and again do the people say to the missionaries, "Take away your opium, and then talk about your Ya Su" (Jesus).

We are indeed thankful that China is now making a mighty effort to break the chains of this opium habit, and that at last our Government is willing to help. The Anti-Opium Societies have long raised their protest

against this great evil, and if all Christians will unite in saying that this traffic must cease, the Chinese may succeed, as they wish to do, in completely breaking off the use of the drug within ten years. This would remove one of the greatest hindrances to missionary work in China.

CEYLON is the youngest of our mission fields, the work there having been begun by Joseph and Frances J. Malcomson, in 1896. There are four central stations and sixteen out-stations, and we have already eleven missionaries and fifty-six natives engaged in the work there.

In all these "Five Fields," India, Madagascar, Syria, China and Ceylon, the work is being carried on under the care of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association; and there is, besides, work in Japan, France, Constantinople, Armenia, and Pemba, which is supported by English Friends, but under the care of separate Committees.

The work is so various and so wide that we cannot attempt further particulars of it here. The summary of statistics for 1907 will give some idea of what is being done in each of the five principal fields, and full and interesting details are to be found in *Our Missions*, and in the Annual Reports of the F.F.M.A.

We cannot all go out to work in the Mission Fields abroad, for many of us have duties which make it clear that our right place is at home, and yet we want in some way to share in the work and to help those who are giving up their lives to it. With this thought in her heart, in 1883, Ellen Barclay started "The Missionary Helpers' Union." It is intended to be a link between the needs of the workers abroad and the helpers at home, and all who want to help, young and old, are welcomed as members. The "objects" of this Union are :—

1. To help by prayer.
2. To help by interesting ourselves and others in the cause of Foreign Missions.
3. To help by getting others to join the Union. .
4. To help by doing handiwork, suitable either for sale or to send to the Missions.
5. To help in any way we can.

From a very small beginning the Missionary Helpers' Union has grown until there are now 263 branches, and we hope that it will go on growing year by year. The men Friends can give money to buy materials for the women to make up. The children can dress dolls and make scrap books, and all can meet together to have their interest quickened by hearing about the work and the workers, and all can unite in prayer for God's blessing.

In close connection with the above there is a Missionary Prayer Union, and, during the last few years, Missionary Study Circles have also been formed in many places. These have proved a very useful means of helping Friends to understand more about the difficulties and the interests of our Foreign Mission work. The more we know about it and the more we pray about it, the more we shall feel that some share of the responsibility rests upon each one who has heard the "good tidings of great joy." What our share is we can only learn by listening to the voice of Him who is the great Shepherd of His flock. In obedience to that voice some will be led out to the distant fields, others will be given the privilege of helping to equip the workers ; *all* will be called to the ministry of prayer. Let us pray in hope, for as we look back over the work that has been done in the past and forward to the opportunities that lie before us, we have every reason to thank God and take courage.

CHAPTER XX.

THE OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE.

IN this closing chapter we have set ourselves to answer two questions:—

1.—What is the present position of Quakerism ?

2.—What the outlook for its future ?

We have so far spoken almost entirely of Quakerism in England, but we must not forget that there are Friends in many other parts of the world, and that the Society in Great Britain is only a small part of the whole.

The following is a short summary of the position and history of the Quaker communities all over the world.

London Yearly Meeting, first held in London in 1661,* includes all the Meetings of Friends in England, Scotland, Wales and Australia. Friends in New Zealand, South Africa, and some other scattered communities, are also included in London Yearly Meeting.

In Australia there are about 560 Friends, in four Monthly Meetings, but they mostly live very far apart, so that it is difficult to have much organised Church life. In 1887, the Friends' High School (now owned by London Yearly Meeting) was opened at Hobart, Tasmania, and this is proving most helpful in building

* In 1658 a "General Meeting for the whole nation" was held at John Crook's in Bedfordshire; in 1660 the "General Meeting" was held at Skipton in Yorkshire, and, as George Fox says in a letter, "from thence it was removed to London the next year." The *continuous* records date from 1668.

up and drawing closer together the members of the Society in the Commonwealth. In 1902, a "General Meeting" was established; it has been held yearly, and is composed of Friends from the four Australian Monthly Meetings.

Dublin Yearly Meeting, including all Friends in Ireland, was established as a half-yearly Meeting in 1670, and has been held yearly from 1793.

On the continent of Europe:—

There is a *Yearly Meeting in Norway*. About the year 1815, some Norwegian prisoners of war at Chatham got hold of a fragment of a Friends' book, which told them of a spiritual religion, and they began meeting together to wait in silence upon the Lord. When the war was over and the prisoners returned home, they continued their meetings, and others joined them. In 1846, Edwin O. Tregelles and Isaac Sharp visited them and found them a "true, simple-hearted people." They had built themselves a nice little Meeting House at Stavanger. During the next fifty years, many Friends from England and America visited them; and when, in 1894, Dr. Richard H. and Anna B. Thomas paid them a long visit, they "felt that the fields there were white to the harvest." "On Sundays, a hundred and fifty or more people would crowd the Meeting House."

Denmark Yearly Meeting is held at Copenhagen, and includes five or six little groups of Danish Friends.

In the South of France, there is a small company of Friends, descended from the Camisards, Protestants who defended themselves, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, against the attacks of Louis XIV. They met in small companies in caverns or secret places, and those who escaped discovery had marvellous tales to tell of sufferings and of remarkable deliverances. Their preachers were called "prophets," and declaimed against a hireling ministry,

the outward ordinances, and every kind of oppression. Some of them, who settled at Congénies, were also convinced that war is contrary to the teaching of Christ. They met in silence to worship God, and waited for the prompting of the Holy Spirit to utter any words. They were thus in harmony with the principles of Friends before they knew of the existence of such a people.

In 1785, through an advertisement in the Paris papers, by a Friend named Fox, who wished to restore some prize money to the rightful owners, they first discovered that there was a Society in England holding similar views to their own, and since that time they have kept in touch with English Friends through letters and visits.

In Germany there are two small Meetings of Friends, the larger being at Minden; but both here and in France the military system makes it almost impossible for the Society to increase in numbers, as all the young men Friends emigrate to avoid conscription.

There are also *Meetings of Friends* at all our *Foreign Mission Stations*. The membership of these is steadily increasing, and is one of the most hopeful signs for the future of our Society.

By far the largest number of Friends, however, are to be found in the fifteen Yearly Meetings in the United States of America and Canada, and we can get no clear idea either of the present position of Quakerism or of its outlook for the future without including these in our consideration.

In an earlier chapter (ch. vii.), we told the story of some English Friends who went to New England about the year 1656 to preach Truth there. Although suffering, and in some cases death, befel them, their message reached many hearts, and quite a number became Friends. In Rhode Island they found a safe shelter from persecution, and here the Society increased

fast, and soon became very influential. In 1672, the Governor, Deputy-Governor and magistrates were Friends, and in 1675, under this Quaker leadership the Colony refused to join with the other New England Colonies in preparations for a war with the Indians.

The first Monthly Meeting established in America was at Sandwich, Massachusetts; and a Yearly Meeting, afterwards called *New England Yearly Meeting*, was "set up" in 1661 on Rhode Island, and is thus almost as old as London Yearly Meeting.

Maryland was another place of refuge for persecuted Friends, especially for those from Virginia. In 1672, John Burnyeat appointed a Meeting "for all the Friends in the province . . . and when the time appointed came, George Fox with several brethren came from Jamaica and landed at Pertuxon, and from thence came straight to the meeting." The meeting was very large, and lasted several days, and "a men and women's meeting for the settling of things was set up . . . G. F. did wonderfully open the service thereof unto Friends, and they with gladness of heart received advice in such necessary things." This was the beginning of what was afterwards known as *Baltimore Yearly Meeting*.

The first entry in the records of *Virginia* (now a part of Baltimore) *Yearly Meeting* reads: "This booke begun in the year 1673 by the motion and order of George Fox, the servant of God."

In 1681, a Yearly Meeting was "set up" at Burlington in *New Jersey*. Later on, this became merged in *Philadelphia Yearly Meeting*, which was established in 1683, and increased in numbers so rapidly that, as early as 1684, it is stated that "there were about 800 persons in regular attendance on First and week-days at Friends' meetings in Philadelphia." "This," as the writer observes, "was remarkable for a people who were contending with the various difficulties in-

cident to the wilderness. No wonder they prospered." Many of the emigrants had come to the province, not with any thought of improving their worldly prospects, but from a sense of religious duty.

Richard Townsend, one of those who went over with William Penn in the *Welcome* in 1682, has left an interesting "testimony," in which he says: "At our arrival we found it a wilderness; the chief inhabitants were Indians and some Swedes, who received us in a friendly manner; and though there was a great number of us, the good hand of Providence was seen in that provisions were found for us by the Swedes and Indians at very reasonable rates, as well as brought from divers other parts that were inhabited before.

"Our first concern was to keep up and maintain our religious worship; and, in order thereunto, we had several meetings in the houses of the inhabitants, and one boarded Meeting House was set up where the city was to be, near Delaware; and, as we had nothing but love and goodwill in our hearts one to another, we had very comfortable meetings from time to time; and after our meeting was over we assisted each other in building little houses for our shelter.

"After some time I set up a mill on Chester Creek, which I brought ready framed from London, which served for grinding of corn and sawing of boards and was of great use to us. Besides I, with Joshua Tittery, made a net, and caught great quantities of fish, which supplied ourselves and many others; so that, notwithstanding it was thought near three thousand persons came in the first year, we were so providentially provided for that we could buy a deer for about two shillings, and a large turkey for about one shilling, and Indian corn for about two shillings and sixpence per bushel."

In 1683, the new settlers wrote a letter to their Friends in England which was signed by William Penn

and twenty-five others. They give an interesting account of the number of Meetings established in East and West Jersey and in Pennsylvania, and then add: "And for outward condition as men, blessed be God, we are satisfied; the counties are good, the land, the water and the air; room enough for many thousands to live plentifully, and the back lands much the best; good increase of labour, all sorts of grain, provision sufficient, and by reason of many giving themselves to husbandry, there is like to be great fulness in some time; but they that come upon a mere outward account must work or be able to maintain such as can. Fowl, fish and venison are plentiful, and of pork and beef no want, considering that about two thousand people came into this river last year. Dear Friends and brethren, we have no cause to murmur; our lot is fallen every way in a good place, and the Son of God is among us. We are a family at peace within ourselves, and truly great is our joy therefore."

New York Yearly Meeting, first known as the Yearly Meeting held at Flushing, has been regularly held since 1695.

The earliest Friend in the Carolinas was Henry Phillipps, who was visited by William Edmundson in 1671. Edmundson appointed a meeting to which the people flocked, "but they had little or no religion, for they came and sat down in the meeting smoking their pipes." However, he made some impression, for they asked to have more meetings. George Fox also visited these parts, and by 1698 so many had become Friends, that *North Carolina Yearly Meeting* was set up and has been held regularly ever since.

This took place during the Governorship of John Archdale, a Friend, who had been convinced in England under Fox's preaching. When he was elected Governor, he was allowed to make a declaration instead of taking the usual oath. Under his rule many Friends became

members of the Assembly, and indeed they practically controlled it from 1694 to 1699.

We thus find that, by the close of the seventeenth century, Yearly Meetings of Friends had been established in all the British North American colonies. Pennsylvania was almost entirely a Quaker state, whilst in East and West Jersey, Rhode Island, Maryland and the Carolinas their influence was strongly felt.

Professor Rufus M. Jones, in a paper read at the American Five Years Meeting in 1907, said in substance,* "Two hundred years ago it seemed as though Quakerism might well become the prevailing religion in America. It was solidly entrenched everywhere, and white-hot with convictions and enthusiasm. 'The meek' were, apparently, really going to 'inherit the earth.' This was undoubtedly what Fox and Penn expected."

But, as was the case in England, the Society soon became occupied with matters within its own borders, and lost its sense of a message for the world. All through their history, however, Friends in the United States have done much to help forward the cause both of the Indians and of the Negroes, and they are still working earnestly for both these peoples.

During the nineteenth century the steady stream of emigration to the West greatly influenced Quakerism in America. The Eastern Meetings were weakened, and new Meetings were continually being started under new conditions as Friends moved westwards. In the Southern States Friends' testimony against slavery made it very difficult for them to live in any comfort, and the West seemed like a land of freedom and of promise. In some cases whole congregations migrated in a body. The Society quite died out in South Carolina; Virginia was united to Baltimore

* As reported in *The British Friend*, November, 1907, p. 319.

Yearly Meeting, and even then the two together were the smallest Yearly Meeting in the world.

In this way *Ohio Yearly Meeting* was set off from Baltimore in 1812, *Indiana* from Ohio in 1821. These Meetings grew rapidly, and as the tide of emigration still flowed westward, Indiana set off :—

Western Yearly Meeting in 1858.

Iowa Yearly Meeting in 1863.

Kansas Yearly Meeting in 1872.

Wilmington Yearly Meeting in 1892.

Iowa Yearly Meeting set off :—

Oregon Yearly Meeting in 1893.

California Yearly Meeting in 1895.

Nebraska Yearly Meeting in 1908.

Canada Yearly Meeting was set off from New York in 1867.

Life in many of these new Yearly Meetings was very simple and very strenuous. The settler's home would often at first be a one-room log cabin, and his days be occupied in clearing and reclaiming the land. The Meeting House and the School House were, however, first considerations with these pioneer Friends, and their hospitality to travelling Friends who visited them was genuine and hearty. The visitors were given the best of everything, often including all the beds in the house, while the family slept on the floor. If there were only one room, that would be placed at the disposal of the guests, and the family would betake themselves to the shelter of a covered waggon or a barn.

Allen Jay, in his autobiography, tells of the Friends' School-house in Ohio to which he went as a boy, "built of logs on the plan of that day, with openings cut out on one side and paper pasted over them for window lights. Holes were bored in the logs and a broad board fastened on for a writing desk. When the time came for writing," he says, "we sat on a high bench with our

faces to the wall, so that the light from these primitive windows might fall upon our papers."

In the early half of the nineteenth century, certain groups of Friends in America separated themselves from the main body of the Society, because they differed from them on some points of doctrine. The two largest of these are the "Hicksites," (so called after Elias Hicks), who separated in 1827-8, and who number about 22,000, and the "Wilburites," named after John Wilbur), who left the Society later, and who now number about 4,500.

These separations have been the cause of great weakness to American Quakerism. They did not take place without much bitter feeling, and we cannot but feel that, if there had been more forbearance and brotherly love, room might have been found within the elastic bounds of the Quaker organisation for the differing currents of thought, and that each section might have received some helpful influence or check from the others. There are at the present time some hopeful signs that they are again drawing nearer to one another.

Both "Hicksites" and "Wilburites" hold the views of the early Friends on Worship, Ministry and the Ordinances, and believe that war is contrary to the teaching of Christ; and in their manner of worship both keep to the simple Friends' Meeting which we are accustomed to in England.

Anyone now visiting the fifteen American Yearly Meetings would find great differences amongst them. Philadelphia is much the most conservative, and keeps more closely to the old Quaker forms of speech and dress than we do in England; in Baltimore we should all feel very much at home, whilst the services in some of the Friends' "Churches" in the west would hardly be recognised as Quaker Meetings for Worship. One effect of the unfortunate separations already referred to was to make people take up extreme positions, and some of the western Yearly Meetings, in their evangelical zeal,

adopted methods which others felt to be quite contrary to the spirit of Quakerism. Nevertheless, underlying all these outward differences, there is a great deal of real unity and of agreement on the essence of the Quaker message, "Let nothing come between your souls and God but Christ." The Richmond Conference in 1887 was an honest effort to help the different Yearly Meetings to come to an agreement on some questions which seemed likely to divide them, and the establishment of the Five Years Meeting, and adoption of the "Uniform Discipline"* by all but two of the Yearly Meetings (Philadelphia and Ohio) is an earnest of good for the future of Quakerism in America.

And we, who are inclined to criticise some of their methods, without always understanding the very different conditions of American life, might be thankful if we could infuse into the sober life of our Society in England more of that loyalty and consecration and warmth, which is so often to be found amongst Friends in America.

From the earliest days of our Society down to the present time, many faithful ministers among Friends have felt that there was a special service in visiting the widely scattered communities of Friends. Some of those who thus travelled have already been mentioned. Nearer to our own times, Isaac Sharp will be long remembered by many. A large part of his long life was given up to this service, and there was hardly a company of Friends or of Missionaries anywhere, from the arctic regions of Greenland, Iceland and Labrador, to tropical Africa, to whom his bright faith and loving words of counsel and encouragement did not bring cheer and help.

Between England and the United States such visits have been, and we hope will continue to be, frequent

*Officially called "Constitution and Discipline for the American Yearly Meetings of Friends."

and laden with blessing. London Yearly Meeting has sent Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, Stanley Pumphrey, Harriet Green and many others; and from America have come to us Caroline E. Talbot, John Henry Douglas, Allen Jay, Rufus P. King, John T. Dorland, Richard H. Thomas and many more, whose messages have stirred us to greater faithfulness and fuller consecration.

As we look out now over the Quaker world, certain facts arrest our attention. Although Friends were at one time the largest body of Nonconformists in England, they are now almost the smallest of the organised Christian Churches. Forty years after their first establishment, they numbered about fifty thousand, or more than *one in every hundred* of the entire population of five millions; now there is about *one* Friend in every *two thousand* of the population of Great Britain, and a much smaller proportion for the population of the world.

In the whole world there are to-day about 123,500 Friends, roughly divided as follows:—

London Yearly Meeting (including Australia			
General Meeting, 560)	..	..	18,700
Dublin Yearly Meeting	..	..	2,500
Members at Foreign Mission Stations,			
London and Dublin Yearly Meetings	..		2,800
European Continent, South Africa and else-			
where	..	..	300
American Yearly Meetings	..	..	95,500
Ditto, Members at Foreign Mission Stations			3,700
			<hr/>
			123,500
			<hr/>

If we were to include the “Hicksite” and “Wilburite” Friends in these figures, we should have 150,000 as the total Quaker population of the world at the present time.

In 1907, the total increase in the Society of Friends all over the world was about 1,500, but this increase is very small and, compared with the rate of increase of the population generally, can hardly be considered satisfactory. It has, of course, to be borne in mind that besides the actual membership, there is a large number of persons who accept the religious position taken by the Society of Friends.

Numbers are not, however, the only sign of progress, nor the best test of spiritual life. The Quaker message, which binds together in one fellowship all these widely separated Friends the world over, is a very living and powerful one. It is the same message that was preached by George Fox and the early Friends.

God is not a God afar off, but very near, even within us. As He is our Father, so in every soul which He has made there is the breath of His life, something which can understand and respond to the touch of His Spirit, and so come into direct personal communion with Him. This spiritual possibility within us is what the early Friends spoke of as the "seed." When awakened into life by response to the workings of God's Spirit, this life within our lives becomes conscious of longings after purity and truth, such as we may suppose the plant life imprisoned in the seed feels after the light and air. Just as the plant does not grow up through the earth of itself without the power of the sun to draw it, so we of ourselves are powerless to grow up to the ideals and longings awakened in our hearts by the Spirit of God, and often the first result of the awakening is dissatisfaction with ourselves, a sense of failure and of sinfulness. But the same light which has shown us our sin will, as we follow it, show us also our Saviour, the Sun of Righteousness, who has power to bring us out of darkness into light, to keep us pure and holy, temples for the Spirit of God to dwell in.

This Saviour to whom the Spirit of God leads us is Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who came into this world and lived and suffered and died for us, whose resurrection gives us the certain hope that, through Him who is the Resurrection and the Life, we too shall have victory over sin and death. We accept fully, as the very foundation of our faith, the words so precious to all Christians everywhere : " God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life."*

This message is fitted for all kinds of people all over the world, and, although there is amongst Christian people to-day a fuller belief in the work of the Holy Spirit, more endeavour to make conduct agree with belief, and a larger charity one towards another than was the case in the days of the early Friends, we believe that our message is still needed. We should rightly consider ourselves very presumptuous, if we claimed to have a monopoly of spiritual truth, or to be serving God more acceptably than many of our fellow Christians whose loving and faithful lives are sources of inspiration to us. Nevertheless, whilst there is so much public worship (some of it, we fear, even in Friends' Meetings) that is outward and formal, so long as men fail to recognise other men as brothers and to love their neighbours as themselves, so long as there is sorrow and suffering and sin in the world, the message of Quakerism is needed, both by Churches and by individuals. It is the simple Gospel, freed from all additions of form and ritual, showing men that they need no ceremonies and no priest, but may draw near for themselves to God through Christ who is *the* Teacher and Minister, *the* Priest and Saviour of His people.

With such a message to deliver, how is it that we are not accomplishing much more ? The fault must

* John iii. 16.

lie with ourselves. Too many of us are Friends only in name, we think more of worldly success or even of our own comfort or ease or pleasure than of our service for Christ. Too many value the rights and privileges of Quakerism, but are unwilling to take up *personally* its duties and responsibilities.

For the responsibility is great, and two problems continually press more and more closely upon us as we consider the future of our Society: how are we to maintain our Free Ministry? and how can we wisely extend our Quaker Fellowship?

Our Free Ministry means, not simply that our ministers are not paid, but also that the ministry is not confined to a few specially chosen or prepared for that service, but is open to all who feel called by God to take part in it.

Members of other Churches, accustomed to listen on Sunday to a minister who has spent years of his life in special intellectual training for his work, and who is free to devote his time entirely to it, often wonder how any company of worshippers can meet profitably week after week without anyone thus trained to be a teacher and leader of thought amongst them. In these days of competition in business and professional life, it does indeed require great singleness of purpose for a man so to plan his life as always to give the first place to the claims of his service for Christ. He must do his duty in providing for his family, the work of his business or profession must be faithfully performed, and yet he *must* give time to prayer and study, and to that social intercourse which will bring him into sympathetic touch with those whom his ministry is to help.

In many of the American Yearly Meetings the problem became so difficult that they attempted to solve it by introducing paid "pastors." During the later years of the nineteenth century there were amongst American Friends many earnest ministers, with the

gift of evangelists, who travelled through the States preaching the Gospel of the grace of God with all the zeal of the early Friends. In some places hundreds were convinced by their ministry and wanted to join the Society. But they needed teaching and building up in the faith. The ministers whose message had been blessed to them had gone on to other fields of service. There were perhaps no Friends in that Meeting who had either the power or the time needed for shepherding so large a flock. Sometimes these new converts were lost to the Society, either joining other Churches or remaining outside any Christian fellowship. Sometimes a Friend, who had such work at heart, was asked to come and help, and money was raised to support him, in order that he might give his time to pastoral work. This plan was found so convenient that many Meetings adopted it. The original idea was good, but in practice it has been found very difficult to carry it out without interfering with the *freeness* of the ministry. The difficulty does not arise mainly from the salary paid to the "pastor." That is usually very small, barely sufficient to keep him and his family in the simplest comfort, and he has in many cases given up good worldly prospects to accept the call. But whenever a meeting has a "pastor," the people will *expect* him to preach in meeting. He soon realises that this is considered part of his work, and the tendency is for the vocal service of the meeting to rest chiefly upon him and for the other members to feel relieved from it.

How are we to solve this problem in the future? How can the ministry which is needed to build up our Society be supplied, and yet our testimony to its "freeness" be maintained?

Since we hold it to be true that any one of our members may be called to the public ministry, and since we realise that the helpfulness of the ministry depends largely on the breadth of view and depth of

thought of the minister, we ought *all* to seek to equip ourselves better for such service, and we should train all our boys and girls, our young men and women, with the thought constantly in our minds that they are the workers of the future, that from amongst them must come the Adult School leaders, the ministers, the missionaries of our Society in the next generation.

"Summer Schools" and "Week-end Schools" for Biblical and Social study have already done something towards helping Friends in these directions, and the establishment of Woodbrooke as a permanent Friends' Settlement, which was made possible by the generosity of George Cadbury, has provided a training place for social and religious service, where Friends, older or younger, can go even for a short time, sure that they will receive help and spiritual uplift from the earnest purpose and loving fellowship which pervade the place, and wise intellectual guidance from the teachers and lecturers.

We cannot value too highly all these opportunities for study, nor feel too deeply the necessity for more Bible and other religious teaching in our homes and schools and meetings, and yet these outward arrangements, however helpful, can never prove sufficient.

More important than all these is the need for the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, without which the most cultured ministry can never reach the hearts of men, and under whose anointing power even the weak and unlearned may be made powerful witnesses for God.

If we can solve the problem of the maintenance of our free ministry in life and power, we shall have gone a long way towards solving the other problem of the widening of our Quaker fellowship. A fully-baptised Church, made up of men and women well instructed in the things of the Kingdom of Heaven, will find ways of making its message heard and felt.

The Adult School Movement, the Quaker "tramps," the work of the Home Mission and Extension Committee, as well as our Foreign Mission work, are all evidence that this can be done in the present day. And if only there is enough of the spirit of love and brotherhood, enough energy and spiritual life, we shall be able to draw many more of those who have been helped by our message within the bounds of our Quaker fellowship. The difficulty in the past has been of two kinds: (1) The spirit of love has not been strong enough amongst us to make others really feel at home in our meetings, and to make them wish to join us; (2) we have so few real leaders among ourselves, so few really baptised with the Spirit and fitted for the work, that we have been almost afraid to let in those few who did wish to join us, lest we should be faced by the problem which has troubled our Friends in America, and find it needful to call in paid pastors to shepherd the flock.

In many Meetings "Associate Membership" has been found very useful for those who want to draw nearer to us in Christian fellowship, and yet who do not fully understand or feel prepared all at once to endorse all the Quaker "testimonies." This is probably the best way of *widening* our borders, if at the same time there is a real *deepening* of spiritual life amongst our members, and a willingness to use the gifts entrusted to them for the building up of the Church of Christ.

If we can keep in the life in which the early Friends lived, there is no need for discouragement or failure.

"Fox realised" (and we are only true Friends in so far as we also realise) "that the power from on high with which the Risen Christ promised to endue His people was no exceptional or transitory gift, but an Eternal Presence, an unfailing spring of energy answering to new wants and new labours."

"The Spirit which guided the fathers is waiting still to lead forward their children, He who spoke through

men of old is not withdrawn from the world, but ready in all ages to enter into holy souls and make them friends of God and prophets.

"The Gospel is not words, but *facts*, not a tradition, but a *voice even now* to the heart of man, which man can recognise and embody in life."*

Probably since the early days of the Society, there has never been such an opportunity for our message to be of use to the world as there is at the present time. The heathen nations are open to receive the Gospel in a way that they have never been before, and the simple Gospel, as Friends receive it, with no ritual and no outward forms or ceremonies, is just the message that is needed.

Nearer home, in America and in our own country, there has been a great upheaval of thought which has shaken the faith of many to its foundations. In history and science, and also in religion, men are asking for reality and not for theories, and the Quaker religion is, above all things, a religion of reality, founded on personal knowledge of God's dealings with individual souls. "Behold, he is here now and I have found Him" are the words in which a modern writer† sums up the glorious discovery of George Fox that "Christ is no dead Christ," but a living one, still present and able to "speak to his condition." The early Friends *lived* in the presence of the risen Saviour, and the power and beauty and gladness of this divine companionship shone forth in their lives. Many of them could testify with Isaac Penington, "I have met with my God, I have met with my Saviour, and I have felt the healing drop from under His wings upon my spirit."

* Slightly abbreviated from Dr. Westcott, *Social Aspects of Christianity*, p. 125.

† Professor Rufus M. Jones in "A Dynamic Faith."

If we truly know these things ourselves, and can show by loving and self-sacrificing lives that they are realities to us, then, as in the early days, "the lives of Friends will preach," and our message will come to other hearts with power, because we shall invite them to have fellowship with us, in that which we ourselves have seen and known of the Word of Life.

APPENDIX.

GENERAL ADVICES AND QUERIES.

ADVICES

ADDRESSED TO OUR MEMBERS AND TO ALL WHO MEET
WITH US IN PUBLIC WORSHIP.

TAKE heed, dear Friends, we entreat you, to the convictions of the Holy Spirit, who leads, through unfeigned repentance, and living faith in the Son of God, to reconciliation with our Heavenly Father, and to the blessed hope of eternal life, purchased for us by the one offering of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Be earnestly concerned in religious meetings reverently to present yourselves before the Lord ; and seek, by the help of the Holy Spirit, to worship God through Jesus Christ.

Prize the privilege of access by Him unto the Father. Continue instant in prayer, and watch in the same with thanksgiving.

Be in the frequent practice of waiting upon the Lord in private retirement, honestly examining yourselves as to your growth in grace, and your preparation for the life to come.

Be diligent in the private perusal of the Holy Scriptures ; and let the daily reading of them in your families be devoutly conducted.

Be careful to make a profitable and religious use of those portions of time on the first day of the week, which are not occupied by our Meetings for Worship.

Live in love as Christian brethren, ready to be helpful

one to another, and sympathising with each other in the trials and afflictions of life. Watch over one another for good, manifesting an earnest desire that each may possess a well-grounded hope in Christ.

Follow peace with all men, desiring the true happiness of all. Be kind and liberal to the poor ; and endeavour to promote the temporal, moral, and religious well-being of your fellow-men.

With a tender conscience, in accordance with the precepts of the Gospel, take heed to the limitations of the Spirit of Truth in the pursuit of the things of this life.

Maintain strict integrity in your transactions in trade, and in all your outward concerns. Guard against the spirit of speculation, and the snare of accumulating wealth. Remember that we must account for the mode of acquiring, as well as for the manner of using, and finally disposing of our possessions.

Observe simplicity and moderation in your deportment and attire, in the furniture of your houses, and in your style and manner of living. Carefully maintain in your own conduct, and encourage in your families, truthfulness and sincerity ; and avoid worldliness in all its forms.

Guard watchfully against the introduction into your households of publications of a hurtful tendency ; and against such companionships, indulgences, and recreations, whether for yourselves or your children, as may in any wise interfere with a growth in grace.

Avoid and discourage every kind of betting and gambling, and such speculation in commercial life as partakes of a gambling character.

In view of the manifold evils arising from the use of intoxicating liquors, prayerfully consider whether your duty to God and to your neighbour does not require you to abstain from using them yourselves or offering them to others. and from having any share in their manufacture or sale.

Let the poor of this world remember that it is our Heavenly Father's will that all His children should be rich in faith. Let your lights shine in lives of honest industry, and patient love. Do your utmost to maintain yourselves and your families in an honourable independence, and, by

prudent care in time of health, to provide for sickness and old age, holding fast by the promise, "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee."

In contemplating the engagement of marriage, look principally to that which will help you on your heavenly journey. Pay filial regard to the judgment of your parents. Bear in mind the vast importance, in such a union, of an accordance in religious principles and practice. Ask counsel of God ; desiring, above all temporal considerations, that your union may be owned and blessed of Him.

Watch with Christian tenderness over the opening minds of your children ; inure them to habits of self-restraint and filial obedience ; carefully instruct them in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures ; and seek for ability to imbue their hearts with the love of their Heavenly Father, their Redeemer, and their Sanctifier.

Finally, dear Friends, let your whole conduct and conversation be such as become the Gospel. Exercise yourselves to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men. Be steadfast and faithful in your allegiance and service to your Lord ; continue in His love ; endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

QUERIES.

1st. What is the religious state of your Meeting ? Are you individually giving evidence of true conversion of heart, and of loving devotedness to Christ ?

2nd. Are your Meetings for Worship regularly held ; and how are they attended ? Are they occasions of religious solemnity and edification, in which, through Christ, our ever-living High Priest and Intercessor, the Father is worshipped in spirit and in truth ?

3rd. Do you "walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us" ? Do you cherish a forgiving spirit ? Are you careful of the reputation of others ; and do you avoid and discourage tale-bearing and detraction ?

4th. Are you individually frequent in reading, and diligent in meditating upon the Holy Scriptures ? And are parents and heads of households in the practice of

reading them in their families in a devotional spirit, encouraging any right utterance of prayer or praise ?

5th. Are you in the practice of private retirement and waiting upon the Lord ; in everything by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, making your requests known unto Him ? And do you live in habitual dependence upon the help and guidance of the Holy Spirit ?

6th. Do you maintain a religious life and conversation as becometh the Gospel ? Are you watchful against conformity to the world ; against the love of ease and self-indulgence ; or being unduly absorbed by your outward concerns to the hindrance of your religious progress and your service for Christ ? And do those who have children or others under their care endeavour, by example and precept, to train them up as self-denying followers of the Lord Jesus ?

7th. Do you maintain a faithful allegiance to the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ as the one Head of the Church, and the Shepherd and Bishop of souls, from whom alone must come the true call and qualification for the ministry of the word ? And are you faithful in your testimony to the freeness and spirituality of the Gospel dispensation ?

8th. Are you faithful in maintaining our Christian testimony against all war, as inconsistent with the precepts and spirit of the Gospel ?

9th. Do you maintain strict integrity in all your transactions in trade, and in your other outward concerns ? And are you careful not to defraud the public revenue ?

10th. Are your Meetings for Church affairs regularly held, and how are they attended ? Are these Meetings vigilant in the discharge of their duties towards their subordinate Meetings, and in watching over the flock in the love of Christ ? When delinquencies occur, are they treated timely, impartially, and in a Christian spirit ? And do you individually take your right share in the attendance and service of these Meetings ?

11th. Do you, as a Church, exercise a loving and watchful care over the young people in your different congregations ; promoting their instruction in fundamental Christian truth and in the Scriptural grounds of our religious

principles ; and manifesting an earnest desire that, through the power of Divine grace, they may all become established in the faith and hope of the Gospel ?

12th. Do you fulfil your part as a Church, and as individuals, in promoting the cause of truth and righteousness, and the spread of the Redeemer's Kingdom at home and abroad ?

MINISTRY AND OVERSIGHT.

SUBJECTS.

THE following subjects, with any others which belong to the teaching and shepherding of the flock, are especially commended to the care of Ministry and Oversight Committees, *viz.* :—

1st. The religious condition of the particular congregations within the limits of their Meetings, and whether the Meetings for Worship are held to edification and to the honour of God.

2nd. The counsel, encouragement, and help of those engaged in the work of the ministry, especially of the younger and more inexperienced.

3rd. The making of arrangements for attending, from time to time, the Meetings for Worship within the limits of their Meetings, especially those in which little or no ministry is exercised.

4th. The visiting of the infirm, the sick, and the afflicted.

5th. The religious care of the children and young people who attend meetings, and the promotion of their religious and Scriptural instruction.

6th. The propagation of the Gospel in the district, as way may open.

ADVICES.

The following Advices are to be read and considered, at least once a year, in every Ministry and Oversight Committee :—

Be constant in your endeavours, through the power of the Holy Spirit, to live under the government of Christ.

Be frequent in reading, and diligent in meditating upon the Holy Scriptures, and be careful not to misquote or

misapply them. In preaching, writing, or conversing about the things of God, keep to the use of Scripture terms or other sound words.

Be careful to adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things ; keep yourselves unspotted from the world ; and be examples of meekness, temperance, patience, and charity.

Be watchful not to become entangled with the cares of this world ; and guard against the snare of accumulating wealth ; manifesting Christian moderation and contentment in all things.

Cherish a deep religious interest on behalf of those who speak in the ministry ; watching over the young and inexperienced with tender Christian concern ; encouraging all in the right way of the Lord.

In the exercise of the ministry wait for the renewed putting forth of the Holy Spirit ; be careful not to exceed the measure of your gift, but proceed and conclude in the life and authority of the Gospel.

Preach not yourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord ; reverently asking wisdom of God, that you may be enabled rightly to divide the word of truth. Let nothing be done or offered with a view to popularity, but all in humility and in the fear of the Lord.

Bearing in mind that the treasure is in earthen vessels, beware of laying stress on the authority of your ministry, the baptising power of the Spirit of Truth accompanying the words being the true evidence.

Be tender at all times of each other's reputation, and watchful lest you hurt each other's service. As servants of the same Lord, with diversities of gifts but the same Spirit, maintain a lively exercise harmoniously to labour for the spreading and advancement of the truth.

Let Ministers endeavour to express themselves audibly and distinctly, and guard against all tones and gestures inconsistent with Christian simplicity. Let them beware of using unnecessary preambles, and of making additions towards the conclusion of a meeting, when it was left well before.

When travelling in the service of Christ, be careful to move under His guidance. Let your visits be neither short and hurried, nor burdensome or unnecessarily ex-

pensive ; giving no offence in anything, that the ministry be not blamed.

Prayer and thanksgiving are important parts of worship. May they be offered in spirit and in truth, with a right understanding seasoned with grace. When engaged herein avoid many words and repetitions ; and be cautious of too often repeating the high and holy name of God ; neither let prayer be in a formal and customary way, nor without a reverent sense of Divine influence.

Finally, dear Friends, take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock amongst whom you have been called to labour. Be faithful ; be patient ; be in earnest to fulfil your appointed service, that when the chief Shepherd shall appear ye may receive the crown of glory that fadeth not away.

QUERIES.

The following Queries are to be read and considered, at least once in the year, in every Ministry and Oversight Committee, in such order and distribution throughout the year as may seem most suitable :—

1st. Are you engaged to watch unto prayer ; that you may yourselves be preserved in humble dependence upon Christ, and in earnest religious exercise for the conversion of sinners, and for the edifying of the body in the faith and hope of the Gospel ?

2nd. Do you occupy the spiritual gifts entrusted to you faithfully, and to the honour of God ?

3rd. Do you overcharge yourselves with trade or other outward engagements, to the hindrance of your service ?

4th. Are you careful to rule your own houses well ? And do you endeavour, by example and precept, to train up your families in a religious life and conversation consistent with our Christian profession ?

CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE.

Accession of Queen Elizabeth	1558	
Act of Uniformity, establishing use of revised Prayer Book. Rise of Puritanism	1559	
Accession of James I.	1603	
Authorised Version of the Bible	1611	
The "Pilgrim Fathers" sailed for America	1620	
	1624	George Fox born.
Accession of Charles I.	1625	
John Bunyan born	1628	
Civil War	1642	
King defeated at Naseby	1645	
Presbyterianism nominally established	1647	George Fox began his ministry.
Second Civil War. Victory of Independents	1648	
Execution of Charles I.	1649	
Commonwealth proclaimed	1650	The name "Quaker" first applied.
Victory of Cromwell at Worcester	1651	Visit of George Fox to Yorkshire.
	1652	Meetings in Westmorland. Convincement of Francis Howgill and of Margaret Fell.
Protectorate of Cromwell	1653	Establishment of Meetings for Discipline in Yorkshire.
	1655	Imprisonment of George Fox at Launceston.
	1656	Trial of James Nayler for blasphemy.

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| | 1656 | One thousand Friends imprisoned in Great Britain. Visit of Mary Fisher and Anne Austin to America. |
| Death of Oliver Cromwell | 1658 | Yearly Meeting in Bedfordshire.
Death of Judge Fell. |
| The Restoration. Accession of Charles II. | 1660 | Martyrdom of Mary Dyer and her companions at Boston, New England.
Yearly Meeting at Skipton. |
| | 1661 | Yearly Meeting held in London for the first time. |
| The Quaker Act imposing penalties for refusal to take oaths, and for meetings for worship in the case of those "commonly called Quakers." | 1662 | 4200 Friends prisoners. |
| Act of Uniformity enforcing use of revised Prayer Book. | | |
| Ejectment of Nonconformist Ministers | | |
| The name "Dissenter" comes into use | | |
| Conventicle Act of 1664, forbidding religious assemblies other than those allowed by the Church of England | 1663 to 1666 | George Fox imprisoned in Lancaster and Scarborough Castles. |
| The Plague in London | 1665 | |
| The Great Fire in London | 1666 | |
| | 1667 to 1669 | Establishment of Monthly Meetings and of Schools at Waltham and Shackelwell. |
| | 1667-8 | William Penn and Robert Barclay join the Friends. |
| | 1668 | The first of the Yearly Meetings held in London consecutively till 1905. |
| Conventicle Act of 1664 renewed and made more stringent | 1670 | Great persecution. Trial of William Penn and William Meade |

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| Declaration of Indulgence, repealing penal acts against Catholics and Nonconformists, proclaimed by Charles II., but withdrawn through pressure of Parliament in 1673. | 1672 | Liberation of many Friends from prison and also of John Bunyan. George Fox in America. |
| | 1676 | First Latin version of Barclay's "Apology" published. |
| "Pilgrim's Progress" published | 1678 | First English edition of Barclay's "Apology" published. |
| | 1682 | Founding of Philadelphia by William Penn. |
| Accession of James II. | 1685 | Release of many Friend prisoners. |
| Declaration of Indulgence | 1687 | |
| The Revolution | 1688 | |
| Accession of William III. | 1689 | |
| The Toleration Act | | |
| | 1691 | Death of George Fox. |
| | 1696 | Friends' Affirmation Bill passed. |
| Accession of Anne | 1702 | |
| Accession of George I. | 1714 | |
| | 1723 | Death of George Whitehead. |
| Accession of George II. | 1727 | |
| | 1737 | Membership with Friends defined. |
| The Wesleyan revival and Rise of Methodism | 1739 | |
| Accession of George III. | 1760 | |
| | 1761 | Yearly Meeting Committee appointed for visitation of Meetings. Revival of Discipline. |
| | 1772 | Death of John Woolman at York. Growing interest in Anti-Slavery movement. |
| War of American Independence | 1775 | |
| | 1779 | Founding of Ackworth School. |

Robert Raikes and Sunday Schools	1781	
Independence of the United States of America acknowledged	1783	
	1784	Women's Yearly Meeting established.
Outbreak of French Revolution	1789	
Wilberforce's motion for the Abolition of the Slave Trade	1791	
	1796	York Retreat opened.
War with France	1793-1802	
Wars against France and Napoleonic Empire	1803-15	
Slave trade abolished by Great Britain	1807	
Founding of British and Foreign School Society	1808	
	1813	Elizabeth Fry visits prisoners in Newgate.
The great Reform Bill	1832	
	1833	Admission of Friends to Parliament.
Emancipation Act for Slaves in British Colonies	1834	
London University founded	1836	Friends' Education Society founded.
Accession of Queen Victoria	1837	
Repeal of the Corn Laws	1846	
	1847	Friends' First-day School Association formed.
Admission of Nonconformists to Universities of Oxford and Cambridge	1866	
	1868	Friends' Foreign Mission Association founded.
National system of Elementary Education	1870	
	1895	Manchester Conference on Home Missions.
	1896	Darlington Conference on Foreign Missions.
	1897	Summer School at Scarborough.

National System of Secondary Education	1902-3	
	1903	Woodbrooke Settlement.
	1905	Yearly Meeting held at Leeds.
	1908	Yearly Meeting held at Birmingham.

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